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THE *John Adams*
HISTORY

OF THE

Knights Hospitallers

OF

St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

Styled afterwards,

The KNIGHTS of Rhodes,

And at present,

The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

Translated from the FRENCH of

Mons. L'ABBÉ DE VERTOT.

VOLUME IV.

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T H E
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Knights Hospitallers

O F

St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

Called afterwards

The KNIGHTS of Rhodes,

And at present

The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

B O O K X.

THE grand master had no sooner given the necessary orders for the defence of the island of Malta, but he crossed to that of Goza: he went all over it, visited those places where the corsairs might make descents, gave orders for the building of retrenchments, brought several pieces of cannon, and ammunition and provisions into the castle, left a company of foot in it; and, after having exhorted the inhabitants to be inviolably true to the order, he returned back to Malta, and immediately turned all his thoughts upon Tripoli: that city of Africa,^a which,

VILLIERS DE
L'ISLE-ADAM.
1530.

VOL. IV.

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^a Fazellius de rebus Siculis, l. 1.

as has been already seen, the order was so unwilling to meddle with, by reason of its weakness and distance.

WE before observed,^a that the chevalier Sanguesse had been appointed governor of it by the commissioners, who took possession of it in the name of the order. The grand master, at the same time that he sent him a new reinforcement, confirmed him in that post, which could hardly have been filled up by a more worthy personage: he was an ancient knight, who had signalized himself in the last siege of Rhodes, by a great number of heroic actions, and who, by fighting under the orders of the grand master, during so long and bloody a siege, had acquired the art of preserving such places as he should be intrusted with. This commander, seeing himself greatly straitened in Tripoli, by other neighbouring cities and towns, all of them inhabited by infidels, and people that had been formerly subject to the king of Tunis, often sent different parties against these Africans, who made incursions into their territories, and ravaged the country.

AMONG these several cities, inhabited by Mahometans, Gienzor and Tachiro, or Tachora, had withdrawn themselves for some years from the dominion of the kings of Tunis: the garrison of Tripoli used frequently to take several prisoners, and make a considerable booty, even to the very gates of those cities. The inhabitants of Gienzor, wearied out with the continual attempts of these troublesome neighbours, made a treaty with them; and Sanguesse, with the grand master's consent, and in consideration of a certain sum, agreed upon between them, granted them a peace, and opened a free trade on that side.

THE lord of Tachora, being more powerful than those of Gienzor, and master of a good port, would not so much as hear a word mentioned of a tribute. The territory of this *check*, or lord, of Tachora, on that side which lay towards Tripoli, consisted in a large plain, which extended itself within four leagues of that city towards the east. This spacious plain was full of villages,

^a Bosio, t. 3. l. 5.

lages, which furnished their lord with a pretty considerable number of very brave horsemen and musketeers, whose chief business was robbing : these often engaged with the Maltese, and each party laid ambuscades for his neighbours. Things passed in this manner at first, with little loss on either side, if we except the death of the chevalier de Harlai, of the language of France, occasioned by an excess of courage, and too little caution ; he being cut to pieces, with all the soldiers under his command, by the Tachorizins, who had lain in ambush for him.

WE should not have been so particular in our account of these inroads, so common between people that border upon one another, and who are of a different religion, had not these petty wars afterwards given rise to others, of much greater consequence, and in which the reader will observe, that the arms of the knights of St. John were no less serviceable to the princes of Christendom in Africa, than they had been before in Asia, and during the time that the order resided in Palestine, and afterwards at Rhodes.

TWAS now some time since the civil wars being kindled in the territories of Algiers and Tunis, the Ottoman Turks, or rather the corsairs, under their name, in order to make their advantage of these divisions, had seized upon several places situated upon the coasts of Barbary ; several knights, and those even who had discovered the greatest disinclination for taking upon themselves the defence of Malta, proposed, at that time, to the grand master, to turn all the efforts of the arms of the order on that side ; and they represented to him, that it would be impossible for the order to preserve so weak a place as Tripoli was, and particularly as it had no ground belonging to it, unless they covered it with new conquests, and an extent of ground that might furnish subsistence for the garrison. This project was not without some foundation ; but not to mention, that the grand master, before engaging himself in this war, was very desirous of letting these infidels weaken and destroy one another ; he, besides,

had devoted all his thoughts to a design which had been formed for many years, and from the success of which, he promised himself, that the order would draw advantages that were much more considerable.

MODON, at this time, engrossed all his thoughts ; it was the sole object of his desires, and every thing that might bring him nearer to Rhodes, appeared like another Rhodes in his eyes, or, at least, as a means that might one day make it a more easy conquest : so that he resolved, before he would absolutely fix his residence in Malta, or engage his order to lay out those immense sums that must necessarily be employed, before that island, which was open on all sides, could be put in a state of defence, to endeavour to surprise Modon, by the help of the intelligence he had in that place.

In this view,^a he took into the order's pay a good number of soldiers, who had lately served at the siege of Florence. This siege the pope and emperor had undertaken in concert ; and these princes, after having made themselves masters of that great city, had restored the Medicis to their authority in it. The chevalier Salviati, who was related to that pope, and prior of Rome, by the grand master's command, brought these forces to Malta, on board six gallies, well armed, three of which belonged to the order ; the viceroy of Sicily had lent the fourth ; and James Grimaldi, a Genoese lord, and an excellent seaman, had hired two others, which belonged to him, at the rate of 1000 crowns per month, and they agreed that he should command them in person, as long as this expedition should last.

THE grand master, not being able to leave Malta, as its chief strength lay in his presence, named the prior of Rome general of the enterprise ; and the chevalier de Boniface, bailif of Manosque, was to command the fleet, during the time that the general should be ashore, and employed in besieging Modon. These gallies were to be accompanied with brigantines of a different bulk, with men and ammunition on board ; and two trading vessels,

^a Bosio, t. 3. l. 6.

vessels, loaded with planks, which they intended to employ for the execution of the enterprize, were entrusted to John Scandali, a Greek Christian, of the island of Zante, and son to one of the two renegadoes; and to Janni Necolo, who was also a Greek Christian; both of whom were well known at Modon, by the daily traffic which they carried on to that place.

BESIDES a great number of knights, who went on board for this expedition, the viscount Cigale, a famous privateer, and brother to the cardinal of that name, offered his service to the grand master; and accordingly joined the fleet of the order with two gallees well armed, that were his own, and which he commanded in person.

BEFORE this armament set sail from the ports, several councils were held upon the execution of this enterprize; when, after a variety of projects, the grand master concluded upon this, that the gallees, brigantines, and other small vessels, should lie hid along the coasts of the little island of Sapienza, which lay over against Modon; that towards the close of the evening, they should bring up two trading vessels, freighted, in outward appearance, with timber and planks, under which a considerable number of knights, and brave soldiers should lie concealed; that young Scandali, under pretence of desiring to come with his ship to an anchor, and trading there, and in concert with his father, should advance to the foot of the tower of the mole, which was about 500 paces from the place, and that he should seize upon it: that young Scandali's associate should go to another side, at the entrance of the harbour, when, after having been visited, for form's sake, by Quir Calojan, the other renegado, the director of the customs, he should retire in the dark to his house; that the next day at the opening of the gate, the soldiers, which lay concealed in the two brigantines, should unite in a body, in order to make themselves masters of that gate; that a cannon should immediately be fired, to give notice of it to the general, who should leave the island of Sapienza that very moment,

should put his forces on board, and throw himself into the place through that gate which should be seized.

THE prior of Rome, who was at the head of this expedition, set sail from the port of Malta on the 1551. 17th of August; and after having sailed pro-
17. Aug. pitiously for several days together, would not put in at the isle of Sapienza, but in the night time. He hid his little fleet in the safest road of the whole island, and which was least exposed; when, having taken down the flags and masts of his gallies, he sent Statigogulo and Marquet, the two Rhodians above mentioned, to Modon, to see whether or no the two renegadoes had not changed their inclinations, and whether they were still masters of their posts, and capable of keeping their word. The two Rhodians went into Modon disguised like merchants, saw the two renegadoes; when, having found them fixed and resolved, immoveable, and even impatient to signalize themselves in the execution of that enterprize, they engaged them to go over with them into the island of Sapienza, to confer with the prior of Rome upon that subject. This general gave them a very civil reception, and after having confirmed to them, in the grand master's name, the promises of a splendid reward, which the two Rhodians had made to them, he started several difficulties, to all which they returned very satisfactory answers. They added, that all lay in the dispatch that should be made in the execution; and in order to make Salviati resolve upon it at once, they represented to him, that the sole reason of the order's failing in its attempt upon Rhodes, was owing to its dilatoriness and excess of caution: but this general, fearing a double intelligence, and lest those Greeks, after having renounced the faith, should not scruple to betray and deliver him up to the Turks, he required them, before he engaged himself further in that affair, to carry to Modon the commander Sciatese, a Roman; the chevalier de Broc, a Frenchman, of the language of Provence; and signior James Grimaldi; in order, that as they would be upon the spot, they would all three be able to judge whether
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the enterprize might be undertaken with safety, and afterwards agree among themselves upon the final measures for the landing of the troops and the attacking the place.

THESE two renegadoes, in company with the knights, disguised like merchants, arrived in the port of Modon in the evening, as if they were returned from the island of Sapienza, upon some affairs relating to their traffic. Scandali, the father, who commanded in the tower of the mole, under pretence of giving these pretended merchants a supper there, shewed them how easily they might make themselves masters of it; and, with the same view, they went and lay at the other renegadoes house, which was near the city-gate, and of which he had entrance free, in quality of director of the customs. The knights appeared satisfied with the disposition of the two Greeks; and then the son of Scandali, a Christian, and who, as was already observed, would not apostatise as his father had done, brought them back the next day to the island of Sapienza.

THE knights, at their return, declared to the general, that their opinion was, the two renegadoes were sincere in the affair; but that after all, a man could not be too cautious and circumspect, when he had to deal with traitors; that they even met with great difficulties in the execution of that enterprize; that notwithstanding Scandali commanded in the tower of the mole, yet the janizaries, who were upon guard there, would not fail, upon the least stir that should be made, to take up arms against them; that upon the noise, which is unavoidable in occasions of that nature, and on the notice which the governor of Modon would receive of it, he would immediately order all the city gates to be shut; and that the garrison and the inhabitants would soon be able to repulse all such as should attack them. These difficulties, and even those which in such like occasions can scarce ever be foreseen, suspended for some time the desire the general had of attempting this enterprize. Young Scandali, who saw through part of the general's suspicions, told him that the only reason
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of his father's sending for him from Zante, and making him privy to that design, was to put him into his hands by way of hostage, till such time as he should have performed his promise, and that he desired no other than to continue on board his gallies; that as for the Janizaries in the tower of the mole, who were very few in number, his father would find a method to send them at a distance, under various pretences, and that he resolved to make them drunk, and by that means prevent their being able to oppose the entrance of the knights into the tower; moreover, that his father and his associate never intended to carry the place by open force; that it would be impossible for them to succeed any other way than by surprise; that his only fear was, that the suspicion of the general had been owing to the great ease with which it might be executed. In fine, this young man, whose breast glowed with zeal and bravery, shewed them how easy, as well as advantageous it would be to make their conquest sure, so that the whole council resolved to continue no longer in suspense; and accordingly sent young Scandali to his father, to assure him that they would make their attempt that very evening.

WITH this view, the general embarked several knights, and a considerable number of soldiers on board two feluccas. who were hid under the planks, with which those vessels seemed to be freighted, and which were designed to assist the troops that were on board the gallies in their landing. Stefi Marquet the Rhodian, who had been so serviceable to Bosio in drawing up the plan of that conspiracy, was on board the first brigantine, which, in those days was called a *grips*, and advanced to the entrance of the port in the evening. Calojan, who had the guard of it, in quality of director of the customs, pretending not to know him, went on board his ship; when, after having visited it for form's sake, and to prevent all suspicion, he made his report thereof to the governor, telling him that it was a small vessel loaded with planks, which he said a merchant

chant was coming to sell to some workmen in the city; upon which the governor gave him leave to admit her in.

THE men who were hid in this felucca, in the disguise of sailors, befriended by the darkneis, and under the pretence of their being obliged to set out very early the next morning, put ashore these planks, and other pieces of wood, with which they formed a kind of bridge opposite to that gate of the city which they intended to surprise, in order to assist the landing of the forces that were on board the gallies; after which they retired into the house of the renegado, where they spent the rest of the night.

YOUNG Scandali, who was in the other felucca, came much about the same time, and cast anchor at the point of the tower; and as his father commanded in it, and he himself came frequently thither from the isle of Zante, where he inhabited; the Janizaries of the tower, with whom he was very familiar, made no scruple to admit him, and accordingly he entered into this tower in company with eight other Greeks in a Turkish dress, who spoke that language fluently, and who pretended to be soldiers belonging to the garrisons of Lepanto and Patras. His father, as had been concerted, dispersed some of his guards upon different commissions, and invited the rest to supper. In the midst of their gaiety and good cheer, they gave them an excellent Greek wine to drink, which, he said, his son had brought him in his felucca. The real Turks, who thirsted after that liquor with greater eagerness, as they were prohibited to drink it by their law, poured it down in great quantities, and were soon drunk. The Greek Christians, disguised like Janizaries, taking their advantage of that lethargic drowsiness that usually attends upon drunkenness, let into the tower all those knights and soldiers that lay concealed in the brigantine; when they cut the throats of some of the Turks, bound others, made themselves masters of the tower, all which was done during the silence of the night, without the least noise, insomuch that the governor, whose

whose house was about five hundred paces from the tower, had not the least notice of it.

On the other side, the renegado Calojan, at day-break, and at the opening of the gate, presented himself at it with some knights, disguised like sailors, and who had spent the night in his house; they made a halt at the gate, in order to give time to the other soldiers, who were hid in the two brigantines, to advance forwards; when immediately the two companies joined in a body, making in all about 300 men. Upon their approach, the pretended sailors, who stood at the entry of the port, drew their swords, fell upon the guards, cut some of them to pieces; when the main body advancing up, seized on the gate, and imagined the city was their own. Immediately a cannon was fired by way of signal to the general, that he should advance immediately with his gallies; during which, the Christian forces, instead of marching directly up to the castle, where the governor had withdrawn himself, leaving only a guard at the city gate, they threw themselves into those houses that stood nearest to it, in order to plunder them; they here committed all the outrages usual on such like occasions, and in places taken by surprise, or carried by storm and sword in hand. The inhabitants, in order to shun the first fury of the soldiers, fled for shelter into the castle, when the governor put weapons into their hands; and having advice that there was but a very small number of the Christians, and that the greatest part of them were roving up and down in search of plunder, he made a sally at the head of his garrison, and of the inhabitants, charged briskly these plunderers, who were dispersed, and killed several at the first onset: when their common danger uniting them again in one body, they rallied, made head, and endeavoured to maintain themselves in their several posts, till such time as the gallies should come up. Both parties fought with equal fury; the knights, who saw every moment the bravest of their troops drop, gave themselves over for lost, when no reinforcement came: but they did not know that a very high and contrary
wind

wind had hindered the general from hearing the signal; inasmuch that it was noon before he had notice, by a bark, which young Scandali dispatched to him, that the knights were got into the city, and engaged with the garrison of the castle. Immediately he hastened to the place, and with as much speed as the crew of his galleys could possibly make, landed without the least obstacle; and after having, according to the rules of war, left a body of men under the command of the chevalier d'Humieres to guard the galleys, and in the tower of the mole, he advanced at the head of the body under his command, joined those who were fighting with the governor and the garrison; when immediately his bravery and the superior number of his forces, soon obliged him to take refuge in the castle. As it would be impossible to force him there without artillery, he sent for several pieces of cannon from on board his galleys; but whilst they were employing themselves in fetching it from thence, the governor was succoured: for no sooner had he seen the first body of knights in the place, but he dispatched couriers to the neighbouring cities, and to the governor of the province, to give him notice of the descent and attack of the Christians. Happily for the governor of the castle, the sangiac of the province was at the head of a considerable body of troops, which, by Solymán's order, he was immediately to march to the frontiers of Hungary, where the grand seignior was then making war. The sangiac, who was encamped not far from Modon, at the first news he heard of the enterprise of the knights, drew out some troops of horse for that place, where they arrived with the utmost diligence, and were let into the castle by a gate that lay towards the country, at the same time that the Turkish general advanced himself at the head of 6000 foot. The governor of the place having ordered his cavalry to dismount, in order to bring them sooner to an engagement, sallied out at their head, and charged the knights with his whole garrison. Though the prior of Rome saw that the infidels were reinforced, he nevertheless stood their attack with the greatest courage; when cutting to
pieces

pieces the bravest of his horsemen, and taking several of them prisoners, he forced the rest to shelter themselves behind the fortifications of the castle. Nevertheless, being informed by the prisoners he had taken, that the sangiac would infallibly be at Modon before sun set, and not having forces enough to make head against him, and besiege the place in form, and as he had not expected success in his enterprise but from the advantage of a surprise, he saw him self, so contrary to his desires, reduced to the necessity of returning on board his ships, which gave him the greatest uneasiness.

BUT before he commanded a retreat to be sounded, he, after having blocked up the ports of the castle by a good retrenchment, abandoned the whole city to be plundered by the soldiers. The richest houses in it were now become their prey ; nay, the knights themselves, and the principal officers, had a hand in this not over honourable, though profitable employment. There is no expressing the riches they carried off out of this city ; but that which gave the inhabitants still greater pain, was their transporting on board their gallies or ships, upwards of 800 married women and maidens, whom they made prisoners and slaves. Among these ladies of Modon, chance having thrown a young Turkish woman of exquisite beauty into the hands of the viscount of Cicala, he carried her to Messina, had her baptized, made her his wife, and had a son by her, Scipio Cicala by name, whom a variety of adventures brought afterwards to Constantinople, when turning Mahometan, and signalizing himself by his bravery, he attained to the dignity of general, when he revenged the Turks for the sack of Modon. The knights abandoned the city a little before sun-set, and embarked with all the forces, without meeting with the least opposition, or sustaining the least loss, if we do not look upon the expence of that armament as a very considerable one ; which was not any way compensated by the plunder of the city of Modon, that fell only into private hands.

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THE grand master, upon the return of his gallies, was informed of the ill success of the enterprize, which gave him great uneasiness; but as his courage had been always superior to the most unhappy revolutions of fortune, he from that time judged, that providence had decreed that his order should settle at Malta, and thereupon turned all his thoughts to the fortifying of that island, and to put it in a condition to brave the insults and incursions of the corsairs.

WHILST he was entirely taken up with these cares, so worthy a sovereign prince, there happened another accident, which put his patience and resolution to a fresh trial. Baltazar Walskirk, bishop of Malta, being dead, the emperor was to name the person who was to fill that dignity; and the order, pursuant to the treaty made with that prince, was to propose three ecclesiasticks to him, one of which at least was to be choïen from among his subjects. The grand master and council presented to the viceroy of Sicily, brother Pontus Laurencin, of the language of Auvergne; brother Thomas Bosio, an Italian, and vice chancellor of the order; and brother Dominic Cubelle of the language of Arragon, and and the emperor's vassal. The grand master, to recompence in the person of Thomas Bosio the great merit and important services which the commander his brother had done to the order, would have been very well pleased that the emperor's choice had fallen upon him; and accordingly acquainted the pope with his views. This pontiff, to whom the commander in his lifetime had been one of his privy chamberlains, and of whose services he had always retained a grateful remembrance, wrote to this prince upon that subject; and not only told his ambassador, that he should think himself very much obliged to the emperor, if he would declare in Bosio's favour, but also gave orders to signior Salviati, who was his relation, and the prior of Rome's father, to write in his name to cardinal Campejus, who was at that time in the emperor's court, in quality of *legate à latere*, to be very earnest in soliciting for that nomination. The emperor gave a very agree-

able reception to these good offices of his holiness, and ordered his ambassador, who resided at Rome, to assure him, that he would give him in a little time all the satisfaction he could wish for, with respect to the bishoprick of Malta: but this prince, who never bestowed his favours but with the utmost circumspection, whether it were that he intended to obtain several others from the pope, or that he had not time to attend to this affair, he deferred the nomination of Bosio. But at last, after he had engaged the pope and the order in a league against the Turks, he then, and not before, declared publicly the nomination of Bosio to the bishoprick of Malta; when he gave the instrument of it to the ambassador of the order, who resided at that time at his court.

THIS minister being very sensible that this nomination would give the grand master no small satisfaction, dispatched a courier with the instrument of it. The grand master received it with great demonstrations of joy, which he divided with the bishop elect, to whom he gave the first account he had received of his nomination to that dignity. All the knights that were at that time in the island, congratulated one another; and as the priesthood and the empire had equally conspired in this election, they looked upon that affair as happily ended. The grand master, in order to have it sealed as it were, and completely concluded, would have Bosio take out his bulls himself, and get himself consecrated at Rome. He likewise had him accompanied by an ambassador extraordinary, whom he dispatched to the pope, to thank him for the continuation of his favour and kindness to the order; and the ambassador was moreover ordered at the same time to present the bishop elect to his holiness.

BOTH of these being arrived at Rome desired to be admitted to an audience of the pope, which they obtained. The ambassador, when he presented Bosio to him, told him, that he was ordered by the grand master and council to thank him for all his good offices with the emperor, and for his having engaged that
 prince

prince to prefer Bosio to one of his subjects: But how greatly was this minister, and he who accompanied him, surprised, when he heard the pope utter the following words: That the church of Malta was already provided with a pastor; that he had already named cardinal Ghinucci to that bishoprick; that he could not possibly have given a more illustrious testimony of his constant and unalterable affection to the order, than by filling that dignity with one of the most worthy men in the church, and a cardinal of so great merit; that his eminency was going to send a grand vicar to Malta, to take possession of that dignity in his name, and that he hoped he would not meet with the least obstacle or opposition in it.

THOUGH the ambassador was thunder-struck, as it were, with a discourse which he so little expected, he nevertheless answered him, that the grand master and council would ever pay the highest deference and submission to his orders; but, continued he, the only difficulty in this affair is with respect to the emperor, whom alone it concerns, and the manner in which he may take so surprising a change. Upon which the pope, raising his voice, replied, "The right of providing for that church, ever since the property of that island devolved to other owners, has been lodged in us, and not in Charles." And thereupon dismissed the ambassador and Bosio, who accordingly withdrew in the deepest vexation of mind, and covered with shame and confusion.

THE grand master himself was not less surprised and afflicted. His constancy wanted, as it were, no more than this last trial; but he bore it with his usual steadiness and resolution. In order to get clear of so ticklish an affair, and to hold the scales even between two powers, with both whom his interest obliged him to keep equal measures, he thought proper, before he himself took notice of the affair, to see how the emperor would act in it. He indeed could not possibly have taken a more judicious step; for Charles V. who found that his honour and dignity were struck at by the pope's

conduct, made Bosio's affair his own. This prince, though so guarded in all his expressions, was not master enough of himself to prevent his resentments from breaking out. Sangro, one of his historians, pretends, that in the first emotions of his rage and indignation, he was heard to say, that he had never reposed any confidence in that pope, and that because he had observed there was always some latent craft in all his actions; and that the emperor added, he then owned to his shame, that he had been over-reached in that affair, which was owing to his not having sufficiently mistrusted the eager and importunate manner, in outward appearance, in which he himself solicited for the nomination of Bosio. 'Tis probable, that the uneasiness Charles V. felt to find himself bubbled by the pope, in an art wherein he imagined he was so greatly his superior, might have drawn those bitter complaints from him. But whatever he might say, which perhaps might be to soothe his resentments, it appears by the testimonies of all historians, that the pope in his offices acted at first with great sincerity. His change of mind was not the result of any premeditated design; but 'tis pretended, that the only reason of the pope's supplanting the emperor, was to revenge himself for his deferring so long to nominate Bosio: and that in the uneasiness it gave him, he could not forbear crying out, with relation to that affair, at a time when he was complaining about it to some cardinals, "That when
 " a sovereign pontiff stooped so low as to sue and
 " intreat, his intreaties and offices ought to be received as commands." Others maintain, that without seeking in this change for such a refinement of vengeance, of which his genius was not over capable, this pope had reflected, or that his ministers had made him take notice, that in consideration of the great esteem and credit which most of the knights had in all the courts of Europe, and above all, of that great height of power to which that military order had raised itself, it no ways suited the interests of the holy see, that the emperor, and the kings of Sicily, his successors, should
 reserve

reserve to themselves the right of nominating to the bishopric of Malta, which gave the persons so nominated a privilege of entering into the council, and even the first seat in it after that of the grand-master; that a cunning and intriguing bishop, taking his advantage of the troubles which frequently disturbed Italy, might engage the knights in parties opposite to those of the pope. In a word, that they ought never to suffer a religious order, that was continually in arms, that lay so near Italy, and which had forces and a fleet at its command, should be dependent on any other power than that of the holy see.

WHATEVER might have been his motive, which was not without some foundation; and whatever instances the emperor might make to oblige the pope to desist from the nomination of cardinal Ghinucci; this pontiff was fixed and immoveable upon that article, at the same time that he appeared to be in the most perfect intelligence with regard to Charles V. and that which might induce us to believe, that his steadiness was not the result of resentment, is, that lying at the point of death, and in those precious moments which decide our fate to all eternity, and in which all the passions vanish and disappear, he sent for cardinal Caraffa, whom he knew to be a zealous adherer to the interests of the holy see, and charged him to represent to his successor, that he was obliged in conscience to maintain strenuously the nomination he had made of Ghinucci. But as the last desires and intentions of even the most absolute monarchs are generally buried with them in their graves, Paul III. who succeeded Clement, having received letters from the emperor, written in the most urgent terms; and being moreover desirous, for the sake of his own private interest with respect to his family, to keep in favour with so powerful a prince, he resolved to give him satisfaction. Accordingly they began to treat of the affair, when an expedient was found out to reconcile the interests of the two competitors. Bosio, after having prosecuted his affair for three years together, and spent immense sums in the court of Rome, and in suing for the emperor's

favour, at last obtained his bulls ; but upon condition of paying the cardinal an annual pension of 9000 livres : and the emperor, who imagined he was obliged in honour to make Bosio enjoy the bishoprick of Malta in all its latitude, since he had procured it for him, in order to indemnify him for the pension, gave him an abbey in Sicily of the like value. Notwithstanding that this affair was not ended till the pontificate of

Paul III. I imagined myself obliged to anticipate the conclusion of it, for the sake of the reader, to prevent our being obliged to return to the same incident by digressions, which often confound and interrupt the thread of the narration.

IN the mean time, the steadiness and resolution which Clement had discovered in maintaining the nomination of cardinal Ghinucci, had not any way cooled the zeal he had discovered against the infidels. Accordingly he joined a good number of his gallies to those of the emperor ; and writing a brief, couched in the most urgent terms, to the grand master, this prince immediately put to sea the great carrack, with the gallies and ships of the order for his quota. We may justly affirm, that the order did not want these exhortations from the pontiff to induce it to put to sea these armaments : for the knights, agreeable to the spirit of their institution, and out of gratitude for the favours they had received from Charles V. were always ready to furnish him with the most powerful succours, whenever war was to be made against the infidels. There were few engagements, as will be seen in the sequel, either in Asia or Africa, wherein the standards of St. John were not seen waving in the emperor's army.

AUGUST the 8th, this Squadron join'd the emperor's fleet commanded by the famous Andrew Doria, prince of Melphi. That of the Turks, consisting of 70 sail, was at that time in the gulph of Larta, or de la Prevesa. Doria, in his course, met with 60 Venetian gallies near Zante ; when he proposed to Vincent Cappello,

pello, a noble Venetian, who was general of them, the joining of their fleets, after which they should force Gallipoli, and carry their arms as far as Constantinople, which they would find drain'd of its ordinary garrison; Solyman, he said, having drawn it from thence to reinforce the army which he commanded in person upon the frontiers of Hungary. But the Venetians, who were so very careful not to give any umbrage to the Turks, that they often suffered themselves to be insulted, without daring so much as to resent it, excused themselves from sharing in this enterprize, by saying, that they had promised the grand seignior to be neuter in this war. The Christian fleet being at that time between the island of Sapienza and Modon, they proposed the besieging of the latter. The prior of Rome and the knights declared themselves for that opinion, who would have been very glad to attempt by open force, the conquest of a place which they had failed to surprize the year before. But the soldiers, who had little else for their pay but what they might get by plunder, discovered the utmost reluctance for that enterprize; and did not scruple to say, and that publickly enough, that they would not expose their lives in attacking so strong a place which the knights had glean'd so thoroughly the year before that they had left nothing to indemnify the victorious for all their toil. The council of war thought themselves obliged to wink at discourses which they would have punished, had the soldiers been duly paid; and thereupon resolv'd upon the siege of Coron, a place, whose fortifications were much weaker than those of Modon, and which was not above twelve miles distant from it by land.

CORON, or Corona, the antient *Charonea*, the country of Plutarch, that great philosopher, and celebrated historian, is situated to the left of cape Gallo, and is in the shape of a scalene triangle, or that whose sides are unequal: one of the angles looks towards a craggy rock; the other two are seen from the gulph of Coron, which serves almost as a port to the tower; but these angles are not washed by the waves, and one may easily,

ly, by coasting along them, go round this fortress; which was surrounded with a wall built after the antique fashion, of no great strength, but flanked with six towers of antient structure.

DORIA having taken a view of its situation, landed his troops, after which he brought up his galleys, and placed them behind his high built ships, and particularly the great carrack of the order, which, firing over the galleys, beat down most of the fortifications of the place. All the artillery of those ships, and two batteries which they had raised on shore, having made a wide breach, the count of Sarno, and Mendoza colonel of a Spanish regiment, were commanded to attempt a storm, which they accordingly did with the utmost bravery; nor did they meet with less courage in the Turks, who killed three hundred of their soldiers, with several officers, and wounded a much greater number. The priors of Rome and of Auvergne, who advanced to their succour, took their places; they were both come from on board the great carrack, at the head of two hundred knights, and five hundred soldiers in the order's pay. This second assault was full as bloody as the first. Unhappily for the besiegers, their ladders were too short for the height of the walls, so that the knights were forced, in order to gain the top of the breach, to catch hold of the wall, and to climb it by main strength of their hands and feet.

IN this disadvantageous situation, they found themselves exposed to the fire of the small arms, and annoyed by the cross-bows; nor were stones, fire-works, and scalding oil spared on this occasion. Great numbers of them lost their lives by these different weapons; but as they had all taken a resolution of being cut to pieces at the foot of the walls, rather than give over the storm, they, after having called upon the name of St. John, which was their watch-word, pushed forward with so much fury, and crowded so fast one upon another, that they at last lifted up the foremost to the top of the breach, when they made themselves masters of it, and planted the great standard of the order upon it.

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The armies, both of sea and land, shouted for joy at the sight of this signal of victory. These acclamations made the besieged believe that the Christians were masters of the place ; upon which, such of the inhabitants as were still intrenched in different parts of the city, and the garrison of the castle, set up a white flag, which was soon followed by a capitulation. The native Turks and their houses were spared, but those of the Jews were abandoned to the soldiers. Doria, after this, went and besieged Patras, which he took ; at the same time that the gallies of the order made themselves masters of the castle of Ardinel, and other forts situated along the coast, which made but very little resistance. After this expedition, as the winter was drawing near, the different squadrons, of which the Christian fleet was composed, separated, and retired into their respective ports.

THE year following, the Turks, who did not care to be losers, made a powerful armament to recover Corou ; and as soon as the season permitted them to keep the sea, a famous corsair, named the Moor, by Solyman's order, blocked up that place with four great gallies, at the same time that another Turkish general besieged it by land.

DORIA was no sooner informed of their designs, but he immediately put to sea, and was reinforced by the pope's gallies, and those of the order, commanded by the prior of Rome. The Christian fleet advanced in good order against the infidels ; the soldiers called out aloud for battle, but Doria, who had as much bravery as experience, whether it were from prudential motives, or in order to perpetuate himself in the command, ever avoided coming to a decisive battle ; and used to say frequently, that he never loved to be in those engagements wherein fortune had a greater share than the conduct of the general. All he designed was to throw succours into the place, and afterwards retire : in this view, he placed the great carrack of Malta at the head of his fleet, from whence, as from a fort and a citadel, he mauled the Turks prodigiously. He then
gave

gave orders to the captains under his immediate command, to take their advantage, during the fire and smoke of the cannon, to run several barks full of soldiers and ammunition into the place. This design was so ill executed, that these small vessels were suddenly surrounded with the Turkish gallies. Upon this the Christians are seized with a panic; some throw themselves into the main body of the army; others, who were got ashore, imagined they should more easily avoid the fury of the infidels, by throwing themselves into their boats; but they crowded in such great numbers, and with such great precipitation, that they sunk to the bottom, and thus hastened their death by endeavouring to fly from it.

THE Turks being thus masters of part of the convoy, fell afterwards upon the great ships. The combat was now become general; gallies attacked gallies, and ships engage with ships. Doria on one side, and the prior of Rome on the other, come to the assistance of such as were most briskly attacked; their presence inspires the soldiers with fresh courage, and restores order in the fleet. Fortune soon shifts sides; the Christians recover their small vessels, take several from the Turks; and moreover, those infidels having thrown themselves sword in hand into a ship belonging to the order, and being already masters of the upper deck, another Maltese ship comes up, which disengages that belonging to the order, and makes the assailants prisoners, whom they load with the very chains which they had designed for those knights.

IN fine, this great croud of masts begins to thin by degrees; the great noise is less stunning, by the death of some, and the flight of others. The victorious Doria throws provisions into Coron, sets sail again, pursues the infidels, and seeks for fresh opportunities to immortalize his name.

THE squadron of the order being recalled by the grand master, separates from the body of the Christian fleet, and returns into the ports; Malta, Tripoli, the coasts of Naples and Sicily being equally threatened by

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Barbarossa, captain of the corsairs of Barbary, who, with 82 gallies, scoured those seas, and carried terror and dread into all those places, without any one's being able to know where the storm would fall. As the old city of Malta was but poorly fortified; and the town, where the convent resided, was commanded from several places; and as the castle of St. Angelo was the only place it could retire to; the council was of opinion, that they should leave only three hundred knights to defend it; that the grand master should retire into Sicily, and transport thither the convent, the relicks, the church ornaments, and the records and treasures of the order. But this generous old man bravely rejected this advice, with saying, "I have never yet fled from the enemies of the cross, and the world shall never see me set so bad an example to all my religious, only for the sake of preserving the remains of a languishing life." Upon which he immediately sent an hundred knights, with some companies of foot, into that tower, which went by the name of the Notable city; and raised, as quick as possible, and as well as the time would allow, several advanced works to the tower of the town. All the inhabitants of the island, by the grand master's orders, took up arms; and that the relicks and records of the order might be out of danger, he sent them over into Sicily, where that precious charge was preserved with the greatest care. After having thus taken all these prudent measures, he waited the arrival of the Barbarians with the utmost resolution; but their general took another course; he returned to Africa, where he made some attempts, of which mention will be made in the sequel.

THE grand master, who attended as much to the preservation of strict discipline, as to the defence of the state, took the advantage of summoning a general chapter, during this interval, which the infidels allowed him. Since the loss of Rhodes, and during the space of eight years, that the order, without having any settled habitation, had wandered up and down in different places, several abuses had crept into the order, which

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he thought fit to remedy. The knights, at their first arrival at Malta, had made shift with taking up their abodes in separate houses, in different quarters of the town, and other places in the island, in opposition to the custom of the order, and what had been observed at Rhodes, where there was one quarter of the city called Collachio, which was inhabited by the knights only, none of the laity being allowed to dwell there. The grand master, in concert with the chapter, restored so prudent a regulation in Malta; so that all the knights were obliged to have their dwellings near his, and under the eye as it were of so exact and vigilant a superior. 'Twas from the same spirit of religion, that they forbid the wearing of too pompous habits, so opposite to that modesty and simplicity which shines with so much lustre in a religious; and so far did they carry the severity of this regulation against every thing that had the least air of a vain and ostentatious distinction, as to forbid all such commanders as were grand crosses to wear it out of Malta; and they were not allowed to adorn themselves with it, but on that day only when they set out from their respective countries and commanderies, to return to the capital of the order.

FROM these particular regulations they proceeded to the most important affairs of government. The chapter in a body had the treaty made with the emperor, relating to the establishment of the order in the island of Malta, represented to them, and confirmed it by a solemn act. They admit the appeals from the common council to a full council, that is to say, into which they admitted, besides the great crosses, two of the most antient knights of each language; but it was agreed, that the appeal from this last council should have no suspensive effect, and that the sentences, which should be pronounced from this tribunal, should be executed but by patent only, notwithstanding the appeal to the general chapter.

As the order was engaged in very great expences; as it maintained six or seven gallies, without reckoning the high built ships and brigantines; as it kept for-

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ces in the islands of Malta, of Goza and Tripoli in its pay; as they were obliged to support the people who were come with them from Rhodes, and to build a city and an infirmary; the chapter thought proper to augment the responsions upon the commanderies of the order: and they besought the grand master, whom they knew to be entirely disinterested, to continue the care he took of the administration of the revenue.

THE chapter ended with this last regulation, the assembly of which would have been very advantageous to the order, had not a disorder broke out towards the conclusion of it, or a little after, in which some of the languages, engaging themselves, came to blows, and raised a tumult and a scandal, which gave the highest uneasiness to the grand master, and to the whole body of the order.

The subject of this quarrel arose from a private dispute which happened between a Florentine gentleman, a layman, one of the prior of Rome's domestics, and a young French knight, nephew to the commander Servier, of the language of Provence. They fought, and the French knight was slain. The uncle of the deceased, who pretended that the Florentine had used foul play in the duel, put himself at the head of his friends, and went in search of him; when having met him, attended in like manner with some other gentlemen of the prior's dependents, they fell upon them, wounded several, and obliged them to fly for their lives, and take sanctuary in the palace of their patron.

THIS nobleman, who was immensely rich, a kinsman, and, as others say, nephew to the pope, and general of his gallies, and those of the order, had no less than three-score persons, who were either lay-gentlemen or Italian knights, in his service. These immediately armed themselves, and rushed out to revenge their countryman; and without making any distinction between the languages of France, fell with the utmost fury upon all such Frenchmen as they met: they killed some, wounded several others, and raised a private quarrel to an open and declared war between the two

nations. The knights of the languages of Auvergne, and of France, surpris'd and enraged at such an insult, joined themselves to those of Provence. The whole nation met, and united themselves at the house of the chevalier de Bleville, in order to take vengeance for that outrage. But the assembly, before they carried their resentments to a greater height, sent deputies to the grand master to sue for justice from his hands. Accordingly the grand master informed the prior of Rome of their complaints, and ordered him at the same time to punish the guilty.

SALVIATI, proud of his being related to the reigning pontiff, and who looked upon himself as another grand master, contented himself with putting the most criminal of his gentlemen under an arrest on board his admiral galley, and sent word to the injured languages to acquaint them that he would do them justice, after he had enquired into the affair, thinking this sufficient satisfaction. This haughty manner of proceeding, so opposite to the genius of so noble a republic, the several members of which, thought themselves upon the same level, raised again the resentments of the French knights. The prior's answer appeared to them to be no more than a mere sham, and purposely calculated to elude their just complaints; and they did not so much consider the seizing of the criminals as a confinement, as a means which that prior made use of to screen them from the authority of the laws, the jurisdiction of the council, and the judges of the order. Inasmuch, that without consulting either themselves, the order, or the duties of true religious, they rush out well armed, throw themselves into the prior's galley, make themselves masters of it, and, in their fury and resentment, stab four of such of the prior's gentlemen who were under an arrest, who had either killed or wounded their companions; and proud of the shameful honour of a revenge, so unworthy of their profession, they, after this bloody execution, come from on board the admiral galley, as it were in triumph, and retire to their respective inns.

THE prior, exasperated at the massacre of his gentlemen, calls all the knights of the language of Italy about him, and by his emissaries, gains over to his interest the two languages of Spain, viz. Arragon and Castile, who declare in his favour, and come armed to his assistance. The French, who were still in a body, hearing of this confederacy, issue out afresh from their inns, and advance up to the prior's house in search of their enemies; these ply them with their musket-shot, and were answered by as brisk a fire. A disorder like this had never happened in the order ever since its foundation; there was a dreadful tumult in that quarter of the city; in vain the grand master ordered them to retire; no command was obeyed; no obedience was shewn; discord reigned in each quarter of the city; each party obeyed no orders, but such as fury, or the transports of a mad passion, inspired. They continued to fire on all sides; and the prior having sent for some pieces of artillery from on board his galleys, the French on their side brought a cannon, which they levelled against his palace gate, in order to beat it to pieces: and night, which was coming on, heightened the disorder and confusion. The grand master, vexed to the soul to see his knights fighting against one another, was for going out, and trying whether his presence might not have the power to check the mutineers. But the council, fearing lest this venerable old man, in the darkness of the night, and in the midst of so dreadful a tumult, should happen to be wounded, conjured him to keep in his palace, and sent in his stead, and at the head of the garrison of the castle, the bailiff of Manosque, an ancient knight, who was revered by both parties, and that more for his wisdom than his dignity. This nobleman, artfully intermixing just reproaches with the softest and most engaging expressions, brought both parties to hear him; after which, he obliged them both to lay down their arms. They all now dispersed severally; the night calmed their fury and animosity; and shame and repentance rose with the dawn: But the grand master did not think proper to suffer the

authors of a tumult, that gave so ill a precedent, to go unpunished; accordingly he deprived twelve of the habit; and, if Bosio is to be credited, they threw into the sea some of the most headstrong and stubborn, who refused to own their crime, and were capable at the same time of perpetrating fresh ones, and renewing the sedition.

How just soever this chastisement might be, the grand master was as much concerned at the punishment he had been obliged to inflict, as at the crime. This threw him into a fit of sickness, when he bewailed himself, as of the greatest misfortune that had ever befallen him, for having survived the loss of Rhodes, only to be a melancholy witness of the violence and rebellion of his religious. The fear of worse still to come, the pride and haughtiness of his knights, disguised under the name of courage; and the luxury and effeminacy of others, the unhappy fruits of the most criminal passions, which, in spite of his example, and the severity of his discipline, had already crept into the order: all these several circumstances united, threw this great man into a deep melancholy; he now only languished away the poor remains of life; and the melancholy news he continually received from England, the consequences of which he foresaw would be fatal to the order, brought him insensibly to his grave.

HENRY VIII. as was already observed in the 9th book, was then reigning in that island. This
 1534. prince had married Catherine of Arragon, the widow of his brother Arthur prince of Wales, having obtained a dispensation from pope Julius II. to that purpose, and had now lived eighteen years with the queen his wife, in the sweetest union and most perfect harmony; when an inordinate passion for a young English lady, raised some scruples in his mind with respect to the validity of his marriage; and as if, in the midst of the transports of his passion, his conscience had been touched, he at last made use of it as a handle to justify his divorce with the queen.

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THIS princess, who had very few charms, and the too dangerous ones of Anna Bullen, easily persuaded him that his dispensation was not valid; he was a king, and, as such, did not want either servile courtiers, or mercenary learned men, who flattered him in his error.

THE affair was carried to Rome, and at the pope's tribunal; the steady refusal of Clement VII. to approve the pretences for his divorce, made this imperious and passionate prince rebel against the authority of the holy see. As he found he should never obtain the favour he so earnestly sued for, he resolved to do without it, and he imagined that he should soonest effect it by abolishing the authority of the pontiffs in his dominions. He went farther; for, in concert with the parliament, which he had cunningly made a party in this affair, he invested himself with that spiritual power, and was not ashamed to make himself be declared the supreme head of the church of England by act of parliament, to free himself from the obligation of submitting to the judgment of the visible head of the universal church, which refused to disunite what God had joined together.

HENRY, once so wise and understanding a prince, but now hurried away by the transports of his passion, persecuted with the utmost cruelty all such of his subjects as refused to adore the vain phantom of his supremacy. Prelates, ecclesiastics, religious, laymen, all lost their lives for refusing to subscribe to the double divorce he had just made with the catholic church, and Catherine of Arragon his lawful wife. The crime of high treason, which, under evil princes, is often the crime of the innocent, supplied all those pretences which were wanting to bring them to destruction. The parliament, which Henry had artfully prevailed upon to be the minister of his passions, proscribed the illustrious Pool, a man more distinguished by his piety and his profound erudition, than by his royal extraction, which he drew from the duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV.

THE king of England had eagerly sought his approbation, and would fain have obliged him to write in favour of his errors; but he was not to be moved either by the promises or menaces of this prince: he represented to him with the greatest steadiness and intrepidity, the injustice of his new pretensions. This prince, who would fain have had the reputation of being a lover of truth, and the satisfaction of never hearing it, could not pardon him this liberty. Pool, that he might not be exposed to his resentments, withdrew to Rome, when the pope took him under his protection, and honoured the sacred college, by raising him to the dignity of a cardinal.

HENRY imputed this eminent title to him as a crime; he set a price upon his head; and it is pretended that he would infallibly have been assassinated by certain banditti, whom the king of England had hired for that purpose, had not the pope, who revered the shining qualities of the English cardinal, given him guards to prevent any such attempt. Pool's disgrace was fatal to his whole house: Margaret Plantagenet, countess of Salisbury, his mother; Henry Pool, lord Montacute his brother; Henry Courtney, marquiss of Exeter, his cousin, being accused of holding a correspondence with the new cardinal, lost their lives upon a scaffold. The king, ever extreme in his revenge, made young Courtney, who was son to Henry, feel the effects of it. He indeed, was ashamed to put a young child to death; but then he threw him into the tower, where he buried him in prison, for fear he should one day attempt to revenge his father's death.

In the midst of all these executions, the protestants, though they disowned the authority of the see of Rome, did not meet with a better treatment. Henry, who was an enemy to every kind of novelty that was not of his own creation, from an unparalleled and whimsical kind of cruelty, burnt all such heretics, and hanged all such catholics, as dared to adhere publicly to the holy see. The major part of the courtiers, being doubtful of the prince's religion, had none them-
selves

selfes but his will. Both catholics, as well as protestants, concealed their religion as a crime; so that nothing but a rebellion against the see of Rome could be openly discovered with impunity. This was the idol of the court, and the only means of maintaining one's self in it. The king, to revenge himself upon the religious, who persevered in the obedience that was due to the holy see, gave up their possessions as a prey to his courtiers: but these very possessions, which had been so very unjustly acquired, plunged them insensibly from Schism into heresy. Many, in the reign of Edward his son, in order to obviate the making of so necessary a restitution, embraced the opinions of Luther and Calvin; and at last the most useful opinion appeared to them the truest and most genuine.

THE commanders and knights of Malta, devoted in a particular manner to the see of Rome, and who acknowledged the pope to be their first superior, were not exempt from this persecution. But as this order, being partly composed of the prime nobility, was powerful in the kingdom, and that the prior of St. John of London had even a seat in parliament, in quality of first baron of England, he suspended the proscribing of them, and the entire suppression of the order, till such time as he had got it authorized, which he afterwards did by act of parliament. In the mean time, there was scarce one indirect persecution but he made them suffer, the greatest part of them being arrested upon various pretences, or at least they seized upon the revenues of their commanderies. Such as could escape the malice and cruelty of his ministers, and who foresaw the fatal consequences of the schism, abandoned all their possessions, and withdrew to Malta, where they came without any certain fund for their subsistence. The grand master, like a good father, supplied all their wants with the most extensive charity, and endeavoured to administer consolation to them, of which he himself stood in as great need. A Christian king's thus persecuting an order, which had deserved so well of all Christendom, compleated the measure

measure of that series of misfortunes he had laboured under during his grand mastership. Being no longer able to bear up under them, he fell sick, when a violent fever soon consumed the little remains of life he had left ; and accordingly he expired in the arms of his knights, who were so dear to him, on Aug. 21. the 21st of August. Thus died a prince 1534. so highly deserving for his uncommon bravery, for his heroic constancy, and for the wisdom and mildness of his government ; virtues which he possessed in a most eminent degree, and which they afterwards endeavoured to represent by these few words, which were engraven on his monument :

H E R E L I E S V I R T U E
V I C T O R I O U S O V E R F O R T U N E .

BROTHER PETER DU PONT, of an illustrious house of the county of Ast, descended of the antient lords of Lombriac, and of Casal-Gros in Piedmont, and bailiff of Santa Euphemia in Calabria, succeeded Villiers de l'Isle-Adam. He was at that time in his bailiwick ; and his merit and virtues were his only recommendation. He was an ancient knight,^a of very grave and severe morals, a strict observer of regular discipline ; and his election is a manifest proof, that if, through the calamity of the times, the statutes might have been executed with less exactness than formerly, yet nevertheless in affairs of moment, and particularly in the election of grand masters, all the knights at that time consulted only their conscience, and that merit only carried all their voices.

THOMAS BOSIO, the bishop of Malta elect, was sent by the council to the grand master, to carry him the instrument of his election. No sooner was the news brought to him, but he burst into tears, and would willingly have been excused from accepting so great a dignity ;

^a Bosio, l. 7.

dignity ; but an unhappy piece of news, which he received by a fresh express, determined him at once, and hastened his departure. They had since dispatched the chevalier Gesvalle, to give him advice of the revolutions that had just happened in Africa, and in the kingdom of Tunis, which Barbarossa had just seized upon, and that this formidable corsair threatened Tripoli with a siege. The new grand master went immediately on board, and came to Malta the 10th of November. His first cares were to send a powerful succour to Tripoli ; but although they should have transported thither all the forces of the order, how brave and intrepid soever the knights might be, they would not have been capable, with four or five gallies only, to make head against Barbarossa, who was master of two such powerful states as Algiers and Tunis, and who moreover, in quality of Basha of the sea, and grand admiral of Solyman, had an hundred gallies, and upwards of two hundred vessels of different bulk under his command. He was brother to Horruc, or Horace Barbarossa, both of them famous for their bravery and fortune.

THESE two corsairs,^a though both born among the dregs of the people in the city of Mitylene, were not nevertheless of an obscure birth. From their youth, and as soon as they were able to bear arms, they gave some marks of their courage and ambition, in scouring together the seas, with only a single brigantine, which was all their fortune.

AN intrepid bravery, a happy success in their attempts, and a number of considerable prizes, increased their reputation and strength. They either bought, or got ships and gallies built, made up a little fleet, and gained over other pirates to their standards, who acknowledged them for their leaders and generals. Neither ambition nor riches could disunite the two brothers : Horruc, who was the elder, had indeed the principal command, but Airadin had as much authority in his absence ; they were equally brave, equally cruel, resolute corsairs, and called themselves friends
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^a Bosio, l. 6.

of the sea, and enemies to all those who sailed on that element; they fell upon Musulmen and Christians, without distinction; and by carrying on the trade of thieves and corsairs, learned insensibly that of conquerors.

THERE was now nothing wanting to complete their fortune, but their being masters of a port, to carry their prizes into; when the war that broke out between Selim Eutemi, prince of Algiers, and his brother, gave them an opportunity of gratifying themselves in what they wanted, by declaring for one of those princes, and afterwards crushing both. For Horrué being received in Algiers, in quality of an ally, made himself master of it; when getting Eutemi strangled, who had called him to his assistance, his troops proclaimed him king of Algiers; and, in order to establish his conquest by a powerful protection, he paid homage for it to Solymán, emperor of the Turks, and made himself tributary to him. He afterwards took the cities of Circella and Bugia, won the kingdom of Tremezen. of which Algiers had formerly been a part; and gained several advantages over the Spaniards, who had undertaken the defence of the king of Tremezen their vassal. But as the fate of arms is doubtful and uncertain, he was besieged in the capital of his kingdom; when, after a stubborn defence, the artillery of the Spaniards having reduced the fortifications of that place to ashes, being unable to hold out any longer, or resolve with himself to capitulate, he endeavoured to escape with his treasures by a subterraneous passage, that ran as far as the plains. The marquis of Gomara, governor of Oran, who commanded at the siege, having notice of his flight, pursued him very close.

BARBAROSSA, in order to retard the pursuit of the Spaniards, and to gain time to reach the deserts, scattered at certain distances as he fled, gold, silver, and rich stuffs. But nothing was able to suspend the pursuit of the Christians, who fell upon him at the brink of the river Huexda, so that he was now obliged to fight: Barbarossa stood his ground; the despair he
was

was in of escaping out of the hands of his enemies, heightned his courage, and the sight of inevitable danger banished all fear from his breast. He rushes with fury into the midst of the Christians, and kills several officers with his own hand ; but after all, as the odds were very great, the greater number prevailed ; and Barbarossa being surrounded on all sides, fell with 1500 men, who had accompanied him in his retreat, who were all cut to pieces. His brother Airadin, with the name of Barbarossa, took upon himself the title of king of Algiers, and afterwards associated with two famous pirates, who were his lieutenants. The one of them named Airadin, a native of Caramania, and who, for his fury and cruelty, was called *Devil-driver* ; the other corsair, a renegado Jew of Smyrna, was known by the name of *Sinan*. These three corsairs were the terror of all the Christian coasts, and subjected as it were the Mediterranean under their empire. *Devil-driver*, not contented with the prizes he daily made at sea, was desirous, after the example of Barbarossa, and perhaps to withdraw himself from his authority, to settle himself in an independent state. Accordingly he surprised Tagiora, of which mention has been made in the beginning of this book, made himself master of it, advanced with his squadron into the port, and had the vanity to get himself to be proclaimed king.

BUT in order to appear to the world still associated with Barbarossa,* at the same time that he gave him notice of his new conquest, he paid 1532. homage to him for it, and protested that he would ever adhere inviolably to his interests. Barbarossa, though offended with the ambition of his lieutenant, nevertheless thought it the wisest part to dissemble an injury which he could not revenge without weakening himself. He therefore received Airadin's homage, congratulated him upon his conquest, and finding every thing was secure with respect to Algiers, Airadin made inroads into the territory of Tripoli.

A

* Eosio, l. 6.

A war now broke out between the knights and this new prince. He took from them two brigantines belonging to the order; he obliged those of Gienzor, his neighbours, to break the alliance and the treaty which they had made with Tripoli; and to keep the knights invested as it were in that place, he, in spite of all their opposition, raised, at the distance of a cannon shot, a tower or castle, since called the tower of Alcaide, where nothing could come in or go out of the port of Tripoli but it was immediately discovered.

MULEY HASCEN, a Moorish prince, king of Tunis, who dreaded the ambition and neighbourhood of the Turk, made a particular alliance with the governor of Tripoli against him, and resolved to drive this corsair from his new conquest before he could have time to strengthen himself in it.^a In this view, he raised a considerable body of forces, most of whom were Arabian peasants; and the knights furnishing him with a train of artillery, he besieged Tagiora. But whether it was owing to the valour and bravery of Airadin, or the unskilfulness of Hascen's generals, that prince was obliged to raise the siege, and to employ afterwards in his own defence those very forces which he had raised only to attack his enemies.

HASCEN,^b of whom mention is now made, was son to Muley Mahomet, who had thirty four
1531. children by several wives. Although Muley was the last, as is pretended, or at least one of the youngest, his mother, who was probably the favourite sultanness, had so great an ascendant over Mahomet, as to obtain a declaration from him in favour of her son, by which he appointed him his successor. This ambitious woman, to prevent him changing his resolution, got him immediately poisoned. This crime was the first step by which Hascen ascended to the throne; and in order to maintain himself in it, he either murdered or put out the eyes of the greatest part of his brothers or nephews. Araſchid, who was one of the eldest of his brothers, escaped him: this
prince

^a Esso, l. 6.

^b Bosso, l. 5.

prince fled to Algiers for refuge, and implored the protection of Barbarossa the corsair ; who hoping to make an advantage of their divisions, gave him a favourable reception : He even promised him a powerful succour, but at the same time gave him to understand, that as he was the grand seignior's officer as well as vassal, he could not engage in that enterprize without his leave ; but that if he would agree to go with him to Constantinople, he did not doubt but that that great prince and the whole Divan would approve of a war so just in it self, and the several advantages of which, as well as the case with which it might be carried on, he promised to represent to his highness.

THE Moorish prince, who was now at his last shifts, gave himself entirely up to his counsels. Barbarossa, who had his private views, carried him to Constantinople ; where being arrived, the perfidious corsair, in a secret audience which he obtain'd of the grand seignior, represented to him, that it would be an easy matter for him, by the help of the party, and the intelligence which Araschid held in Tunis, to seize upon that city and the whole kingdom, and to annex it afterwards to his empire. Solyman, greedy of glory, and to extend the bounds of his empire, was pleased with his reasons. Accordingly he issued out orders for the fitting out an extraordinary armament in all his ports ; so that it was not long before they put to sea ninety gallies, and upwards of two hundred vessels laden with ammunition and land forces. The grand seignior shewed Araschid the utmost kindness, who, at the sight of so formidable an army, flattered himself that he should re-enter Tunis, as it were in triumph. But when they were just going to embark, Solyman had him arrested in the seraglio ; and the whole was executed with so much secrecy, that when they set sail, the whole fleet imagined, that this unfortunate prince was on board the admiral, and in the general's galley.

This corsair had no sooner set sail from Constantinople, but the better to conceal his design from the

king of Tunis, he stood for the coast of Italy, ravaged the coasts of Apulia and Calabria, spread the terror of his arms in Naples and Gayeta ; and after having ranfack'd the towns and villages, made slaves of a numberless multitude of the inhabitants, and left the most dreadful marks of his fury in all places, he went through the Pharo of Messina, made the same cruel havoc along the coasts of Sicily, drew near to cape Passaro, as if he had intended to make a descent there, and afterwards turn'd short towards Africa ; when he landed near Goletta, and gave out that he brought back Araschid. Then, in order to procure the favour of the garrison of the fort, he saluted it with a discharge of his artillery, but without ball ; and having sent an officer into the place, to demand of the governor for whom he held it ; “ We are (reply'd the aga) the servants of events ; and we shall keep the place for that party in whose favour fortune shall declare herself, and for that prince, of the several competitors, whom she shall make king of Tunis.”

BARBAROSSA, who was not ignorant of the importance of this place, it being the key of the kingdom, dispatched a messenger to represent to him, that the grand seignior had sent him to place the lawful heir upon the throne of Tunis ; that he had orders to attack and cut to pieces all such as should oppose him in it : that he might satisfy himself with his own eyes how formidable that prince was, and whether he was able to make head against it. The person who was entrusted with this negotiation, managed it so artfully, and knew so well how to intermix promises with his threats, that the governor, perhaps bribed also by considerable sums of money, delivered up the place to the corsair, who, leaving a strong garrison in it, advanced up into the ports of Tunis. This city, the capital of a kingdom of the same name, is situated on the coast of Barbary to the North of Africa, between Tripoli and Algiers, at the point of the gulph of Goletta, and two miles from the Mediterranean, from whence one might discover the ruins of the famous Carthage.

THE

THE city of Tunis was said to have consisted at that time of upwards of twenty thousand houses, and was peopled in proportion ; but then it was barely walled, without any fortifications : and as it was commanded from several places on the west side, its whole strength lay only in the castle, and the number of its inhabitants.

UPON the approach of Barbarossa's army, and the reports they spread of prince Araschid's being at the head of the Turks, the people, who are ever greedy, and often ruined by the change of masters, rose and took up arms. Hascen, who was afraid they would abandon him, came out of the castle, endeavoured to quell the sedition, and reminded the mutineers of the fidelity which they had sworn to him ; and in order to draw them over to him, stooped so low as to make even the most grovelling intreaties. But whether it were from an abhorrence of his government, or out of compassion for Araschid, because he was unhappy, the people rejected with loud cries, and even contempt, all the remonstrances and intreaties the king could make ; so that this prince, fearing they should attempt to murder him, or deliver him up to his enemy, immediately left the city, without so much as once going back into the castle, or carrying off his treasures with him.

MARMOL^a, in his description of Africa, relates, that that prince had owned to him, that in the great confusion, the approach of his enemies, and the revolt of his subjects, had thrown him into, he, when he went down from the castle into the city, had forgot a red velvet purse, wherein were two hundred diamonds of an extraordinary size, and of an inestimable value.

HE had no sooner left Tunis, but the inhabitants opened the gates to his enemies ; when immediately Barbarossa entered into it at the head of nine thousand Turks, and made himself master of the castle and the principal posts of the city. The inhabitants received him at first with the highest testimonies of joy ;

^a History of the kingdom of Tunis,

but when they saw Araschid did not appear, they began to mistrust the corsair, notwithstanding his telling them that he was confined on board his galley by sickness : and the fraud being at last discovered, the inhabitants, instead of taking an oath of fidelity to Solymán, as he required they should do, openly detesting the corsair's treachery, took up arms, and fell upon his troops in order to force him to quit the city. But they had to deal with a captain, who, being a perfect master of the arts of war, had foreseen this revolution. Barbarossa, to keep in the people, commanded the artillery of the castle, of which he was master, to be set a roaring ; and his soldiers made so furious a discharge of their muskets upon the inhabitants, that they, in order to put a stop to the massacre, were forced to acknowledge the grand seignior for their sovereign, and Barbarossa for his viceroy.

THIS corsair, as skilful as he was valiant, after having employed his arms with so much success to keep the people in subjection, endeavoured to gain over the principal inhabitants by gentleness, and the most engaging affability. He, by their means, made an alliance with the Arabian peasants, seized upon most of the cities that were higher up in the country, put garrisons into them ; and, being about to widen a canal to make Tunis a port, and to put it in a condition to receive ships of the greatest burthen, he employed the Christian slaves, of whom he had more than twenty thousand in the city, for that purpose, who opened the canal of Goletta, which runs from the sea into the lake on which the city of Tunis is situated.

SUCH was the state and condition of the coasts of Africa, and the provinces bordering upon Tripoli, when the grand master arrived at Malta. This prince justly considered, that it would be impossible for the knights to maintain themselves in Tripoli, without the assistance of forces, and a power superior to that of the order. Charles V. was the only sovereign in Europe, whom this enterprize would any way concern ; nor was any other able to oppose it. He had just reason to fear,
left

lest this formidable corsair, after so many conquests, should endeavour to seize upon the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, which would afterwards have given him the possession of Malta: So that the grand master, with the advice of the council, sent the commander Ponce of Leon, a grand cross, to the emperor, in quality of his ambassador, to solicit him to send such an army into Africa, as might be capable of maintaining the knights in Tripoli, and of putting a stop to the surprizing progress of Barbarossa.

THE emperor received at the same time, and upon the same subject, another embassy from Muley Hascen, at the head of which was a renegado Genoese, named Ximaa, who was the captain of his guards. This renegado, seeing his master dethroned, and without any hopes left of being able to recover his crown, advised him to have recourse to Charles V. a prince to whom, he said, Barbarossa was odious, and who would think it very honourable for him to restore a monarch to his kingdom, who had been so unjustly deprived of it.

HASCEN entrusted the execution of the project to him who was the author of it. Accordingly the Genoese went to Madrid, and obtained an audience of the emperor, who fearing lest some attempt should be made upon his kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, gave a favourable hearing to both ambassadors. The affair was proposed in council, and after its being examined before the emperor, by his ministers and his 1535. most able generals, it was resolved^a that the emperor should carry his arms into Africa, as well as to secure the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily against any invasion that the king of Algiers might make, as the passage of the Spanish seas into Italy where not so much as a trading or passage-vessel, thro' fear of the corsairs, durst appear, without running the risk of being taken.

CHARLES V. seemed to be well satisfied with this resolution; but before he employed force, this prince, who was the greatest politician of his age, and who

^a Bc. l. 7.

often drew greater advantages from his secret negotiations than his arms, endeavoured to bribe Barbarossa, and to draw him off from Solyman. Accordingly he entrusted another Genoese, Lewis Prefandes by name, with the whole management of this intrigue, whom the emperor furnishing privately with a trading-vessel, he went with it to Tunis, under pretence of traffick, carrying at the same time credentials, which invested him with the character of an ambassador. After having got himself introduced to Barbarossa upon another pretence, he shewed him his credentials, and pursuant to his instructions, proposed to him the concluding of a private alliance with Charles V. and at the same time offered him, in the name of that prince, to assist him, in order to make him absolute monarch of all Africa, provided he would engage himself to hold afterwards so glorious a monarchy, and render it tributary to the crown of Spain. By a second instruction, directly opposite to the first, this agent had orders to confer as secretly as possible with certain inhabitants of Tunis, whose names had been given him, and whom Hascen's ambassadors had said to be inclined to favour his master's interest, to sound them, to assure them of the speedy return of that prince at the head of an army, and to exhort them to take up arms in his favour as soon as he should appear at the gates of their city.

But as this minister was for carrying on two negotiations of so different a nature at the same time, he was soon suspected. The whole intrigue was discovered; and Barbarossa, without regarding the right of nations, caused the ambassador to be strangled. The emperor seeing it would be impossible for him to succeed by the way of negotiation, resolved to see what open force could do. Accordingly he sent back Hascen's ambassador to his master, to assure him, that he himself would go at the head of a powerful army, in order to restore him to his throne; and at the same time he writ to the grand master by an express, to give him notice of his design, and to invite the knights to associate with him

him in an enterprize, which might be of great advantage to them, with respect to Tripoli.

THE grand master no sooner receiv'd his letter but he communicated it to the council; when it was resolved, that the order should furnish as many ships for that expedition as it could possibly allow. Accordingly the knights put to sea four of the largest and best equipped gallies, with 18 brigantines, all well armed; not to mention the great carrack, which alone was more formidable, and did more service in this expedition, than a whole squadron. A considerable number of knights went on board these different ships, and each knight carried two brave soldiers along with him instead of servants. The commander Aurelio Botigella, an antient sea-officer, was named for general of this separate fleet, and Anthony de Grolée, titular bailiff of Lango, was to command the carrack and the land-forces.

BARBAROSSA, whom the designs of the Christian princes could not possibly escape, provided himself with arms, ammunition, and provisions, summoned all the corsairs of the Levant about him, drew from Algiers as many forces as were there, and dispatched several embassadors to all the petty kings of Africa, to implore their assistance, and to represent to them, that the loss of Tunis would infallibly draw after it that of all Barbary. His money did more service than the eloquence of his negotiators; and sending some considerable sums to be distributed among the chiefs of the Arabians, he by that means obtained from them 15000 men, all horiemen, who not valuing who they fought for, exposed their lives for a meer trifle, and made a mercenary trade of war. As for Charles V. he had got together a powerful fleet, consisting of near 300 sail, with 25000 infantry, and 2000 horse on board, not to mention a considerable number of volunteers of different nations, and of the first houses of Europe, who were desirous of signalizing themselves in the presence of so great an emperor.

THE

The general rendezvous was in the port of Cagliari, a city of Sardinia, not above sixty leagues distant from the coasts of Africa. The emperor having received the reinforcement of the pope, and the order of Malta, set out from thence on the 13th of June, 1536. and arrived happily at Porto-Farina, antiently called Utica, a city famous in the Roman history for the death of the younger Cato. 'Tis pretended, that Barbarossa, hearing that the emperor commanded his army in person, said to the officers who were about him ; “ If this prince, who has hitherto seldom made
 “ war but by his lieutenants, should acquire in this cam-
 “ paign the only honour that is now wanting to com-
 “ plet his glory, we must resolve with ourselves to
 “ lose that which we have acquired with the price of
 “ our blood.”

THIS pirate, who naturally imagined that the Christians would begin their enterprize by attacking the fort of Goletta, had, for that reason, thrown into it 6000 of the bravest Turks in his whole army. These were commanded by Airadin and Sinan the Jew, the two famous corsairs above mentioned, and in whom Barbarossa had reposed the utmost confidence. He at the same time sent the eunuch Azanga, another of his generals, with 30,000 Moors or Arabians, but all of them bowmen or arquebusiers, and the most part on horse-back, in order to harass the Christians continually ; and as he scrupled the fidelity of the Tunisiens, he shut himself up in that place with the flower of his troops.

THE emperor landed his army without opposition, within cannon-shot of the fort of Goletta : it was no more than a large square tower, but well-flanked, and situated about twelve miles from Tunis, at the mouth of the canal, by which the sea enters into the basin, on the side of which Tunis is built. This canal is about the length of a cross bow shot, but so narrow, that a galley can't pass thro' it but by strength of oars. Barbarossa had built a bridge over this canal; and on a neck of land that lies between the sea and the tower of Goletta, he raised a rampart that discovered all the coast,

coast, and defended those galleys which he had posted out of the canal.

THE emperor's generals pitched upon a spot of ground which they thought the most convenient for their encampment, and surrounded it with good lines, that were wide and deep, and strengthened at certain distances with redoubts. The garrison of Goletta, in order to interrupt these works, made frequent sallies, in which 300 Spaniards and 400 Italians were cut to pieces; at the same time that the Moorish and Arabian horse were continually harassing the Christian army, and came to skirmish to the very head of their camp. The fortifications of the camp being finished, they now began to raise batteries, both against the fort, and on that side towards the open country; the fire whereof was so dreadful, and at the same time without the least intermission, that the Turks of the garrison, as well as the Moors and Arabians who kept the field, did not dare to come near the emperor's camp again.

THIS prince, who justly supposed, that after the taking of this fortress, that of Tunis would fall of course, resolved, as soon as the breaches should be wide enough, to attempt a storm. They battered the place at the same time both by sea and land.

DORIA, who commanded the fleet, brought up his galleys by turns, and after one range had fired, another advanced in its place, and made its discharge. The great carrack of the order was posted as at the siege of Coron, behind all the galleys; but it was so high-built, that it easily fired over them all, and it made so dreadful and uninterrupted a fire, that it dismounted all the cannon of the tower. The commander Botigella, prior of Pisa, observing, that the chief officer over the slaves in the galleys of the order for fear of running a-ground, had given orders to raise the oars out of the water, went to him sword in hand, and commanding him to make the crew ply their oars; "Wretch (says he to him) must we be prevented from performing a brave exploit, for the sake only of preserving the hulls of two or three galleys?" The chevalier de
Conversa,

Conversa, an able engineer, distinguished himself by an action that was still more daring; for he armed a long bark with great guns, fill'd it with musketeers, and afterwards drove it up to the foot of the tower, from whence he fired upon all such Turks as presented themselves upon the breach; and, whilst he was charging again on one side, he dextrously turned his bark about, and presented the other, which immediately fir'd. By thus working of the ship, he killed a great number of the infidels, who fired upon him from the artillery of the tower that was just by, but without making any execution. In fine, after having fired continually on all sides from midnight to noon, the emperor, before the Turks had time to repair the breaches, and make intrenchments, commanded a general storm to be attempted. The knights agreeable to their prerogative, and the possession they enjoyed of being always at the head of the attacks, were commanded to march at the head of that which was to be given on the side towards the sea. The commander de Grolée, otherwise named the bailiff Passim, who commanded the land-forces, put them on board barks and flat vessels; but as they drew near the shore, these boats run upon a sand. The chevalier Copier, of the house of d'Hiers in Dauphine, who carried the standard of the order, was the first who leaped into the water with his ensign. He was followed by all the knights, who, plunging in above the waist, advanced boldly sword in hand, got to the shore, and, in spite of a shower of musket-shot, advanced to the storm. The Spaniards, sustained by the Italians and Germans, attacked another place; and in these different attacks, the Christians, in spite of the courageous defence of the Turks, forced the breaches, got to the bulwarks, and the top of the tower, and made themselves masters of it. But this victory cost the order many of its bravest knights, and scarce one of them returned back without wounds. As this tower had no outworks, they were immediately in the body of the place; and as the artillery had ruined all its fortifica-

fortifications, the Christians, after having fought an hour, got possession of it.

AIRADIN and Sinan the Jew, seeing it would be in vain for them to resist, threw themselves into the basin, with the garrison. They marched along the flats by a way which had been marked out with stakes, and arrived at Tunis, while others stopped at Arradez, a little city in the road from Goletta to Tunis. The Christians pursued, and killed great numbers of them; and the emperor entered into Goletta, followed by king Hascen; when turning to that prince; July
 “Here (says he to him) is the gate opened 1535.
 “for you, thro’ which you will return into
 “you dominions.” ’Tis pretended that they met in the port of this place with eighty seven gallies, galiots, and other rowing vessels, all of them armed; besides upwards of three hundred pieces of cannon, most of them brass, a numberless multitude of muskets, cross-bows, pikes, and swords. Barbarossa had made this fort his arsenal, whither he used to carry all his prizes and his booty, and till now, had always thought it impregnable.

THE emperor, after having allowed his troops some time to repose themselves after their toil, gave orders for their marching towards Tunis. Notwithstanding that Barbarossa was very sensible of the weakness of the place, and moreover very doubtful of the fidelity of the Tunisiens, and more so of the bravery of the Arabians, nevertheless, as he was a man of prodigious courage, he resolved to attempt the fate of arms, to advance forwards to meet the Christians, and rather give them battle, than shut himself up in a place that was but weak. But before he took the field, he held a great council of war; when having summoned the chiefs of his army, as well Turks, Moors, as Arabians, he represented to them the small number of forces the emperor had in comparison of his; that the bravest of the Christians had lost their lives at the siege of Goletta; that the excessive heats of the country, to which the European soldiers were not accustomed, had thrown great numbers

ers of them into a sick and languishing condition ; that they were in want of water, inſomuch that the greateſt part of them died with thirſt. He added, that the emperor's camp abounded with immenſe riches ; that the ſums they would get for the rantom of the priſoners they ſhould make, would be full as conſiderable ; “ In fine (ſaid he to them) I promiſe you victory, if
“ you are deſirous of conquering ; and the defeat of
“ your enemies will ſecure you an abundant fortune,
“ your own ſafety, and that of your wives and child-
“ ren.”

THE answer they made him conſiſted only in proteſtations of an inviolable fidelity ; notwithſtanding which, he yet diſcovered in moſt of their countenances, a certain air of inquietude and an impreſſion of fear, which gave him no ſmall uneaſineſs : and as moreover, he was well acquainted with the fickle and wavering temper of the Africans, he held during the night-time a ſecret council, compoſed only of ſuch Turks as adhered to his fate and fortune. He declared to them, that he was unhappily engaged in a place where he had three kinds of enemies, whom he had equally reaſon to diſtruſt ; that the Moors ſuffered impatiently the Turkiſh government, and would be glad to ſee them all cut to pieces ; that Arabians who were fitter to make inroads, than boldly to ſtand their ground in an engagement, would, at the ſight of the leaſt danger, immediately give way : and that there were actually twenty two thouſand Chriſtians ſlaves impriſoned in Tunis, who would not fail to facilitate the entry of emperor's forces, if they ſhould meet with an opportunity for that purpoſe : that notwithstanding their being ſhut up every night in the caſtle, yet it would be in the power of one traitor or renegado only, to open the gates of it, and render them maſters of the city, during the time they ſhould be engaged with the Chriſtians ; but that he, in order to rid himſelf of that uneaſineſs, was reſolved before he left that place, to cut all thoſe ſlaves to pieces, without ſparing ſo much as
one

one. *Devil-driver* gave aloud his approbation of so inhuman a resolution, and maintained, 1535. that if they spared the slaves^a, they would make them one day repent of their false pity; and that in such a conjuncture, the preserving of an enemy, who might afterwards destroy them, would be acting in contradiction to all the maxims of policy. But Sinan the Jew, to whom part of these slaves belonged, and who made up the bulk of his possessions, opposed this resolution. He represented to Barbarossa, that so barbarous an action would draw upon them the odium of all nations; that he, by that means, would alienate the affections of the Tunisiens, who had either bought or taken the greatest part of those Christians; that he himself would lose the ransom of the most considerable, who were his property; that after all they might, whenever they pleased, find an opportunity of making use of so cruel a precaution; that they should reserve that execution, till such time as they should be brought to their last shifts; whereas, if they should happen to beat the emperor's forces, the loss they should sustain, by the over-hasty death of their slaves, would poison the joy that attends upon victory.

THO' Barbarossa had not used to prefer moderation to violence, yet avarice, on this occasion, got the better of his natural cruelty, and accordingly he consented to suspend the putting of the slaves to death; but in order not to be disappointed in satiating his vengeance upon them, in case he should be overcome, he loaded them with fresh irons, gave orders that they should not be suffered to stir out of the dungeon or prison where they were shut up, and lodged several barrels of powder under it, to blow it up into the air upon his orders. After this, he marched out at the head of his troops to meet the emperor, and encamped in a plain at a league's distance from Tunis, when both armies soon came up with one another. The Spanish historians, to heighten the glory of Charles V. pretend, that Barbarossa's army

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^a Bosio, t. 5. l. 2.

consisted of no less than 90,000 men. The reader may judge whether this be fact, by the issue of the battle, if we may give this name to a rout, in which, by the confession of those very writers, the Christians lost but eighteen soldiers, and the infidels about 300. Be that as it will, the Arabians advanced at first to fight with intrepidity enough, and came on to the charge with great shouts. But no sooner had they heard the roaring of the artillery, and stood the first fire from the muskets, but these troops, which had been used to fight only in wheeling about, immediately gave way, took to their heels, and disappeared in an instant; and that which threw Barbarossa into the utmost consternation was, that they drew the Moors and Tunisians along with them in their flight, who flocked into the city, with greater eagerness than they had gone out of it. The Arabian chiefs, as a handle that might be of service to them in making their court to Hascen, afterwards boasted their having kept them in, and prevented their fighting. Barbarossa commanded a retreat to be sounded; and, after having rallied them, did not once reproach them, and only told them, that they should engage the Christians on the morrow.

BUT he was very far from having any such design. As he was surrounded on all sides with open or secret enemies; the only reason of his keeping up so many troops was in order to secure his retreat. He even concealed this resolution with the utmost care from the Turks, who appeared to be his most faithful friends; but the eagerness his people discovered to draw his treasures out of the castle, gave occasion to some suspicion; and the order he afterwards gave, to set fire to the powder that was lodged under the prison of the slaves, made them no longer doubt of his resolves: but the ordinary ministers of his cruelty had it not in their power to execute so horrid a scene of cruelty. There was at that time among the slaves^a, a knight of the order, commander of Turin, brother Paul Simeoni by name, whom Barbarossa could never be prevailed upon to release,

^a Bosio, l. 8. t. 3. p. 1520

lease, whatever ransom the order could offer. He has been already mentioned, when we spake of the island of Ero, which this knight, being but eighteen years old, defended with so much bravery against all the enterprises and attacks of the infidels. Simeoni, in this last conjuncture, bribed two renegado's, who were the slaves goalers, who being furnished, by their assistance, with hammers and files, he knocked off his chains, and helped to break those of his companions^a. They afterwards broke into the armory of the castle, armed themselves with every thing that first came to hand, cut to pieces all such of the Turkish soldiers as had remained in the castle, made themselves masters of it, and, after having barricaded the gates of it, and set a strong guard in the principal places, the knight, who was at the head of the enterprize, went up to the top of the castle, and displayed a white flag, to give the Christian army notice to come to their assistance. Barbarossa, being told that a great noise had been heard in the castle, ran thither, crying out, that they should open the gates to him; but was answered only by the fire of their musket-shot, and a shower of stones, which the slaves threw at him. Upon which he cried out, in the utmost transports of fury: "All is lost, since those dogs are masters of the castle and of my treasures." He then immediately ran out of the city with *Devil-driver*, and as many Turks as he could get together; and before the emperor could have notice of this revolution, he fled, and got to the city of Bon, built near the ancient Hippo^b, a city famous for being the episcopal seat of St. Austin, one of the four first fathers of the church, and its oracle next to St. Paul, in all those things that relate to celestial grace.

SIMEONI, having notice of the flight of the corsairs, sent advice of it to the emperor, who immediately advanced forward: The first object that presented itself before him, at his entrance into that place, was this

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knight,

^a Francisco de Medallino, and Vincent de Cattara Giassraga.

^b Hermisd. Epist. ad Poss.

knight, at the head of 6000 of his companions in slavery. Charles V. embracing him, cried out, “ Brother knight, blessed be for ever your courageous resolution, which has made you break your chains, has facilitated my conquest, and heightened the glory of your order.” Simeoni, loaded with honour, went on board the galleys of Malta, where he saluted the general and his brethren. But the emperor’s forces and the slaves dispersed themselves up and down the city, where they committed the most unheard-of excesses of all kinds, that one would have thought the Christians had had a mind to go beyond the most barbarous nations in cruelty and lasciviousness. The unhappy inhabitants of both sexes suffered, in their persons, and in those who were dearest to them, racks, and various kinds of torture, to force them to discover their hidden treasures to their cruel conquerors; and when they had extorted all they could from them, they afterwards massacred them in cold blood. The young maidens were exposed to an infamy, still more odious and insupportable than the most cruel punishments; and when the soldier was weary with butchering, or glutting his brutish lust, without any respect to age, sex, or birth, he loaded with chains all such as fell into his hands. Young women of the greatest beauty were torn from the arms of their mothers; and the officers kept them as their own booty, to make them administer to their most infamous pleasures.

AMONG these unfortunate slaves^a, was a young lady of exquisite beauty, of one of the noblest houses in the city, whose name was Aysa. She fell to the lot of a Spanish officer, who carried her into the camp, and put her in his tent. Muley Hascen meeting her tied, in a manner altogether unworthy her noble birth, being moved to compassion, and perhaps with a sensation of a stronger nature, stopped her, and offered to purchase her of her master. But the Moorish lady, who was naturally proud, overcome with rage and grief, spit in his face; and cried out at the same time, “ Be
“ gone,

^a Dossio, t. 3. l. 8.

“ gone, thou wicked and perfidious Hascen, who to
“ recover a kingdom thou hadst no right to, hast scan-
“ dalously betrayed thy country and thy nation.” But
this prince, on whom all this usage could make no im-
pression, going on to offer the officer very considerable
sums for her ransom, Ayla, transported with fury, con-
tinued to cry out, “ Be gone, I tell thee, I will not
“ have a tyrant for my deliverer.”

WE are told, that above an hundred thousand per-
sons were either killed or made slaves ; many fell a
sacrifice to the fury of the soldiers ; others, who thought
to fly to the sands and the neighbouring deserts, were suf-
focated by the excessive heat of those burning climates,
and died of thirst ; and the number of prisoners, of both
sexes, was computed to be upwards of forty thousand.
The emperor being master of Tunis, restored Muley
Hascen to his throne, but upon condition that he should
hold it of the crown of Spain ; and as a pledge of his
fidelity, he kept the fort of Goletta in his own hands,
whose fortifications he repaired. By this treaty he ob-
liged the Moorish prince to pay the garrison of it, and
to send thither prince Mahomet, one of his children,
with some other lords of his court, in quality of hos-
tages. After this the emperor began to prepare to set
out for Europe ; but before he embarked, the 25th
of July, being the day that the church celebrates the
feast of St. James patron of Spain, this prince so-
lemnized the commemoration of it in his camp. After
he had heard mass there, which was sung to music, he
dined on board the great gallion of Malta, called Ca-
racca, where he was entertained by the knights with
the greatest magnificence. The emperor's design, after
he had set sail, was to pass by Mehedia, a city of
Africa, in order to make himself master of it ; but
there arose a violent tempest, which scattered his ships
and gallies. At last this victorious fleet, after having
passed through a great variety of dangers, came to Tre-
pano in Sicily.

THE grand master sent a splendid embassy to this
city, to congratulate him upon the happy success of his

arms. This prince answered, in the most obliging manner, that he owed the best part of it to the valour and courage of the knights ; and, that the order might be always engaged to adhere to his interests, he bestowed very rich presents on the principal knights who had attended him in this expedition ; and, by a fresh rescript, or grant, ordained, that the grand master and the council should draw from Sicily, custom free, all the ammunition and provisions they should want. By another edict, and a peculiar privilege, he declared, that no knight, under any pretence whatever, should enjoy, in the whole extent of his dominions, any possessions belonging to the order, without the express permission of the grand master and council, and unless the originals of those grants had been seen by his majesty or his ministers, and registred in his council of state.

THE squadron of the order returned happily into the ports of Malta ; but the joy of the knights was a little time after allayed by the death of the grand master, who had hardly enjoyed that great dignity a year. The order lost in him a worthy head, and a true religious. He, during his administration, had forbid the knights, under very severe penalties, indulging themselves in the custom, or rather the abuse which they had brought from Italy, of masking themselves during the carnival ; and he substituted, instead of these bacchanals, tilts and tournaments, and several other military exercises, which he made them consider as recreations much more suitable to warriors.

'T WAS from the same strictness of discipline ; and exact observance of the statutes, that he refused, in spite of all the instances the pope could make, to nominate to a vacant commandery a young knight, in prejudice of his seniors. He told this pontiff by letter, that, upon his accession to the grand mastership, he had taken the most solemn oaths, as well as all his predecessors, to observe the statutes of the order, and that he besought his holiness to dispense with his violating so
sacred

sacred an obligation, which he had contracted at the foot of the altars, and on the holy gospels.

DIDIER DE ST. JAILLE, prior of Thoulouse, one of the most generous defenders of Rhodes, of whom mention has been made in the relation of that siege, succeeded Peter du Pont. He, in like manner as his predecessor, was elected in his absence. The chevalier de Bourbon succeeded at the same time, by the death of brother Peter de Cluis, to the grand priory of France. The first use the new prior made of the riches annexed to his priory, was to give orders for the making of a sumptuous piece of tapestry ; in which, on a ground of silk heightened with gold, was seen the pictures of all the grand masters,* drawn to the life, and after excellent originals, which had been brought from Rhodes: and as soon as so rich and curious a piece of furniture was finished, he sent it to Malta, and consecrated it, to adorn the principal church in that island.

DIDIER DE
ST. JAILLE.
1536.
12th Nov.

THESE marks of the liberality and disinterestedness of the knights were not at that time uncommon in the order. The greatest part of the commanders, particularly such as were invested with the principal dignities of the order, used generously to consecrate all the revenues of them in fitting out armaments against the infidels. The greatest part of them sought rather for the glory than the profit which might accrue to them from their prizes ; and we may affirm, that there were in all times more knights out at sea than on shore, and residing on their commanderies. They were often seen returning into the port of Malta, dragging after them the vessels and gallies of the infidels, out of which they immediately delivered the Christian slaves of different nations ; and these Christians, after the recovery of their liberty, carried back into their respective countries, the testimony and remembrance of the zeal and valour of the knights.

AMONG

* Bosio, 1 8.

AMONG these illustrious personages, each of whom would merit a particular history, was reckoned Botigella, prior of Pisa, and general of the gallies; George Schilling, grand bailiff of Germany; Grolée, bailiff of Lango; James Pelloquin, the grand master's lieutenant; Leo Strozzi, prior of Capua; Chateau-Renaud, marshal of the order; the commander Parisot de la Valette; and a great many others, whose names are mentioned in the memoirs of the order.

BUT no one at that time had rendered himself more formidable to the corsairs than the prior of Pisa, who was continually out at sea. Not a single corsair durst come near the coasts of Sicily and Malta, but he was immediately snapt up; and so great was the number of prizes he made that year, that the corsairs gave out, he had a familiar demon, in the shape of a dog, on board his galley, who gave him notice of the day of their departure from the coasts of Africa, and the places where he might meet with them. Time had scarce ever produced a general, in whom was united so perfect a knowledge in sea affairs, with so intrepid a bravery: he fell upon all he met, whether weak or strong; and, without having any regard to any reprisals that might be made, hanged all such renegadoes as fell into his hands; and being severe in command, he required the same bravery in his knights, of which he gave them an example: nor was he less strict in the observance of military discipline; and after an expedition, in which he had made very considerable prizes, certain knights having made bold with some of the plunder, he had them put under an arrest, and confined them, for a long time, as usurpers of the property of the order. He was but just returned into the port of Tripoli, when they discovered about dusk, and from the top of the tower, three large galliots steering towards the island of Gerbes; upon which the captains of the galliots immediately desired leave to go out of the port, and give them battle: “Don’t you perceive,” replied that able seaman, that if they should happen “to see you, the night, which is coming on, will fa-
“ your

“ your their escape before you can have time to come
 “ up with them? Let them continue their course at
 “ this time, but they shall not be got to such a dis-
 “ tance, but I will be up with them by day-break.”

And indeed, no sooner was night come, but he sailed out of the port with three gallies, and stood for Gerbes, as well as the darkness would allow. It was scarce day break when he discovered those gallies, who were sailing in company; upon which he immediately began to give them chase. The corsairs seeing themselves pursued, separated; and one of the galliots endeavoured to gain the coasts of Barbary; but a galley, called the *Cornue*, or the *Horned Galley*, intercepting it in its course, was soon up with it, and the knights, with sabre in hand, attempted to board her. Immediately the Turks, who were in great numbers in that ship, threw themselves on that side which the knights were for attacking: their too eager haste, and the great number of men, who were all got to one side, occasioned their destruction; for the galliot being over-set, sunk to the bottom, in the sight, and to the great regret of the knights, who were more afflicted for the death of the Christian slaves that were drowned on that occasion, than the loss of a prize, which could not possibly have escaped them. The second galliot met with almost the same fate, which the knights endeavoured to board; and as it was manned with a great number of Turks, they did not avoid fighting, but turned the prow against the galley of the order. On both sides a numberless multitude of furious discharges were made, which disabled a number both of Christians and Turks. The pilot of the infidels, being more dextrous than that of the order, presented a broadside, and after having discharged a fresh volley of arrows, stood off to sea: but general Botigella, who had reserved himself to succour that galley which should be the most vigorously attacked, opposed the going off of the galliot, and came up with it prow against prow. The combat was now renewed with recruited fury; the *Coursier*, or great gun, and the muskets, made a fu-
 rious

rious discharge on both sides ; the battle was maintained for a long time with equal advantage ; victory shifted sides alternately more than once. The corsairs, who were seamen that had been brought up in the midst of fire, and the fury of arms, fought with intrepid fury. They more than once flattered themselves with the hopes of forcing the wale of the galley, and obliging the knights, who defended it, to give way : but they were opposed with a set of intrepid men, who had ever been fearless of danger. This courageous body of soldiers threw themselves, sword in hand, into the galliot, at the same time that the soldiers of the *Cornue*, or horned galley, forced another part, and joined the soldiers of the admiral galley. 'Twas now not so much a combat, as a general massacre : The Christian soldiers gave no quarter, but, hurried on by a thirst after booty, so great a number of them flung themselves into the ship, that, whether it were the prodigious weight of those who entered it, and who were all on one side, or that it had sprung a leak during the engagement, it sunk to the bottom ; when the victorious, confounded with the vanquished, met with a like fate, and perished even in the midst of victory.

THE largest of the galliots, commanded by Scander, a famous corsair, and by another rais, or captain, did his utmost to reach Zoara, thirteen miles distant eastward from the island of Zerbe, or Gelsey. But the chevalier Parisot de la Valette, captain of one of the gallics, and the worthy companion of Botigella, pursued him so close, that the Turks could not avoid fighting. This new engagement was as bloody as the former : Scander fought like a man who had ever been fearless of death, and who did not value being cut to pieces, provided he came off but with victory. The commander de la Valette, at the head of the knights of his galley, and exposed to the arrows of the enemy, received two wounds with an arrow during the heat of the engagement, which prevented his perceiving it ; but some time after a musket ball shattered his leg to pieces, and threw him upon the deck. Not-
with-

withstanding his distress, and his being half dead, he yet did not abate any thing of his usual courage, and his ardent thirst of victory. The knights and soldiers, animated by his cries, pushed the infidels with so much intrepidity, that they forced their way into their ships. Here they were forced to come to a second engagement; the Turks had rallied themselves about the masts, and they began to fall on a fresh. These Barbarians, being mad through despair, and animated by the example of their officers, fought with incredible fury; and, though reduced to a small number, they yet forced the Christians to abandon their ship, and, after having disengaged themselves from the cramp irons, with which they had been fastened to the gallies, they, in spite of all the efforts of the knights, stood off to sea, and steered towards Zoara. They were got pretty near it, when the knights, who sailed after their prey, came up with them. The fight was of new renewed, which was now the third time of engaging; but they were no more on an equal footing; for the Turks having lost the greatest part of their soldiers and sailors, there scarce remained sufficient to manage the ship; and the few that survived, seeing the shore at hand, threw themselves into the sea, in order to reach it. But as a great number of them were wounded, the major part of them were drowned, among whom were two rais, or captains. Immediately the knights made themselves masters of the galliot, whence they delivered 200 Christians: the Turks were chained down, and the renegadoes hanged. After which Botigella returned with triumph into the port of Tripoli with his prize.

THIS success, and the continual war which the knights maintained against the African Turks, both by sea and land, determined these Barbarians to drive them, if possible, out of Tripoli. The pirate Airadin, lord of Tagiora, being chiefly interested in this war, took upon himself the execution of this enterprize; and accordingly got together as many forces as he could from Tagiora, Gienzor, and d'Almaya, the rendezvous being at the tower of the Alcayd. He sent out in the
night-

night-time, and at day-break attempted a scalado at those parts of the wall of Tripoli which he thought least defended. He hoped to surprise the knights : but George Schilling, grand bailiff of Germany, who commanded in Tripoli, having advice sent him by his spies, which he kept in Tagiora, was under arms with the whole garrison ; and no sooner did the Turks appear, but they were briskly plied with fire works, boiling oil, and stones ; at the same that the artillery, and the musketeers of the place, fired incessantly on those who were furthest off, and who sustained those who were at the head of the attack. Although Airadin saw plainly that he was discovered, he yet fought on with the same bravery and resolution. His troops, after his example, made the most surprising efforts to get to the top of the wall ; but it was lined with a good number of intrepid knights, who were fearless of death and wounds. Many died by the arrows and musket shot of the infidels. The Barbarians lost a greater number of men ; but their places were immediately filled up by the great number of forces they had brought along with them for this expedition ; whereas the knights, on the contrary, who at that time were no more than forty in number, with a weak garrison, drew no succour but from their courage, which even seemed to increase, in proportion as their forces diminished. The grand bailiff in particular ran up and down to those places where the attack was warm st, and was seen at all of them almost at the same time. Airadin, for his part, did not omit one of the duties of a worthy commander, and, more by his example than his words, drew on his soldiers, and did his utmost to get to the top of the wall ; but this general having been knocked off his ladder by a ball, his soldiers found it a very difficult matter to get him out of the ditch into which he was fallen. The Turks thinking him dead, lost all their courage ; they all made off, and left at the foot of the walls a great number of soldiers who had been killed there.

THE grand bailiff, after their retreat, dispatched a brigantine to Malta, to give the grand master's lieutenant

nant and the council advice of the enterprize of Airadin; by his letter he represented to them, that as Tripoli was without bastions and bulwarks, it would have been impossible for it to have held out against an army that should have besieged it in form; that they were even daily exposed to be surprised in the same manner, and that in order to prevent it, and to drive the infidels from its neighbourhood, it would be necessary for them to raze the tower of the Alcayd, which held the place invested and blocked up on that side, and hindered the Christians from trading with the Moors and Arabians, the inhabitants of the country, who were as great enemies to the Turks and corsairs as the knights.

THE council approved this enterprize, and appointed the commander Botigella, prior of Pifa, and general of the gallies, to head it. Accordingly he immediately put to sea with 500 knights, and about 700 foldiers, which the order kept in constant pay at Malta; and the bailiff Schilling, governor of Tripoli, treated at the same with some *Cheques*, or Arabian lords, who, in consideration of a certain sum agreed upon between them, furnished him a body of horse. Botigella having landed his forces at Tripoli, took thither what artillery he thought he should stand in need of, and had it drawn by his slaves and the crew of his gallies, almost up to the tower he intended to besiege; when, without staying to open the trenches, he first raised his batteries, and contented himself with covering them with gabions. Airadin, at the noise of this attack, ran thither from Tagiora with what forces he had about him: but when he was got to the town of Adabus, which was not above three miles distant from the tower, he found himself stopped by the knights, who were at the head of the Arabian horse. Airadin, not finding himself strong enough to attack a body that was lined with 150 knights, contented himself with making a few light skirmishes, which gave opportunity to about 60 Turks to throw themselves into the place. Notwithstanding this succour, general Bo-

tigella battered it continually ; but perceiving that his artillery did not make so quick execution as he could have wished, he sent for the wales or bends from his gallies, which he employed as *mantlets*, or a movable pent-house ; and being covered by this fence, he brought up the miners to the foot of the wall, which he blew up. Immediately the knights advanced up to the breach, which they found undefended ; for the greatest part of the corsairs had been buried under the ruins of the mine. Such as had escaped, still stunned with the noise, seeing the knights masters of the breach, and with their swords drawn, threw down their arms. Botigella immediately razed the tower ; and whilst the crew of the galley, and other slaves, were employed at this work, he advanced at the head of his little army towards Adabus, where Airadin was intrenched. He drove him from thence, abandoned the plunder of this town the Arabians ; and, after having left in Tripoli a sufficient body of troops to reinforce the garrison, he reembarked to return to Malta. In his course he met a great galeon that was coming from Egypt, freighted with rich merchandize, commanded by a famous Turkish captain called Ardor. Botigella made directly towards him with his gallies, came up with him, and, in spite of all the fire of his cannon, the knights immediately boarded him, leaped into the Turkish vessel with their drawn sabres, and made themselves masters of it. Two hundred Turks were made prisoners and slaves on this occasion, and the prize was valued at 160,000 crowns ; after which, the fortunate Botigella, who justly deserved to be always so, returned into the port of Malta. The commander James de Pelloquin, the grand master's lieutenant, the greatest part of the lords of the council, and as many knights as were on the island, were at the port to receive him at his landing. As they had been informed of the happy success of his expedition, he was publicly praised, and congratulated upon that account ; and all this illustrious body of soldiers led him, as it were, in triumph to the church
of

of St. Laurence, where he went to return thanks to God for the happy success of his aims.

THEY were still full of those first emotions of joy, which the happy return of general Botigella gave the convent, when various accidents threw them into a general consternation. A young novice, who aspired to the chaplainship of the order, robbed the image of our lady of Philermos, which had been brought from Rhodes, of the pearls and precious stones with which it had been adorned. Some days after, an English knight, being distractedly in love with a Maltese woman, in the transports of rage and jealousy, stabbed her with his own hand, upon very slight suspicions. The grand master's lieutenant had the thief and the murderer seized; and after their being condemned by the secular judges of the island, they were carried at a mile distance from the port, when, being put into sacks, they were thrown alive into the sea.

To these misfortunes succeeded another, that was a subject of no less affliction to the whole body of the order. The chevalier de Varennes Nagu, commander of Trebous, arriving at Malta on the 10th of October, brought thither the sad news of the death of the grand master de St. Jaille, who having set out from his priory of Toulouse, in order to go to the convent, fell sick at Montpellier, where he 26. Sept. died on the 26th of September. The next 1536. day they met to chuse him a successor. Every one imagined, that the commander Botigella, or the lord de Grolée, otherways called the commander Passim, bailiff of Lango, would be elected to that dignity; both of them being ancient knights, who, by their services, their brave actions, and a singular piety, had deserved so well of the order, and of all Christendom.

BUT a cabal, which was carried on by the chevalier Garcia Cortez, who happened to be at that time the electing knight, turned the majority of voices in

favour of the commander JOHN D'OMEDES, of the language of Arragon, and bailiff of

JOHN D'OMEDES. Capla. This bailiff had promised him along time before to procure him his bailiwick, provided he should come to the grand mastership by his means. The cunning Spaniard, being a man of intrigue, and who saw that the promotion of his friend would pave the way to his own, made a merit, to the sixteen electors, of a wound and the loss of an eye, which d'Omedes had sustained during the siege of Rhodes: probably also the subtle Spaniard, without insisting too much upon a wound, which is often an ambiguous mark of bravery, might have been artful enough to take advantage of the superiority which the knights of his nation, by the help of the emperor's power, had at that time in the assemblies of the order. Be that as it will, no sooner was the election of d'Omedes published, but the greatest part of the 360 knights, who composed the assembly, appeared in the highest consternation. The ill omens they presaged upon the government of the elect, were afterwards verified by an administration that was self-interested, partial, and even extremely harsh and rigorous.

THE illustrious Botigella, so worthy of that high employment, was thrown aside, and did not keep even that of commander, or general of the gallies, with which Leo Strozzi, prior of Capua, was afterwards invested. He was a young lord of one of the first houses of Florence, a near relation to Catherine of Medicis, queen of France, and on whom pope Clement VII. his uncle, at the same time that he gave him the habit of the order, had bestowed that dignity, of which he was actually in possession at the time of his being raised to the sovereign pontificate.

THE young prior, who had been made a captain before he had been a soldier, had first fought under the famous Andrew Doria, the emperor's general: the first essay he made in his command, was at his being, with four gallies of the order, at the taking of twelve others

com-

commanded by a Turk, whose name was Ali Zelif, a great seaman, and commander of that squadron. Doria had 34 galleys, besides those of the order; and meeting the infidels in the channel of Corfu, he attacked them with that confidence which he had justly entertained from the superior number of his galleys: but he experienced on that occasion, that nothing is superior to a resolute courage. Ali had a great number of Janizaries on board his galleys, with orders to transport them into Dalmatia, where Solyman was getting together a body of forces. These soldiers gave the most shining marks of bravery, and fought like men who were resolved not to survive their defeat. They levelled the fury of their arms chiefly upon the knights, their antient and eternal enemies; and two Turkish galleys, one of which was the admiral, invested the admiral galley of Malta. The first kept close to the prow, and the other presented her side, and a cruel and bloody combat ensued. The Turks attacking the knights very briskly, several of that order, and among the rest Constantine Opert, one of the principal officers on board the admiral galley, lost their lives in the brave opposition they made against the Turks, who endeavoured to throw themselves into this galley. Fortune seemed to favour them on that side; and they would perhaps have carried off the admiral galley, had not the prior of Capua, in this danger, commanded a culverine to be levelled against that galley, which lay long side by it. This saved the admiral: for the Turkish galley being struck in her keel with that single shot, was immediately filled with water, and sunk to the bottom. The knights having thus got rid of an enemy on that side, turned all their force against the Turkish admiral galley. The combat being upon a more equal foot, became at the same time more bloody. The knights and Turks, with the design of making themselves masters of the opposite admiral galley, threw themselves reciprocally upon each other's weapons. At length the knights seemed to have gained some advantage over the infidels; they forced the Janizaries,

and threw themselves in crowds, with their drawn sabres, into their galley. The Turks, being recovered from the prodigious surprise which so violent an attack had thrown them into, renewed the combat with recruited fury. The soldiers, transported with rage, would neither give nor take quarter. No sooner one dropped, but his place was immediately filled up by another. Though the knights had cut most of the Turks to pieces, they were not yet masters of the galley, and the few infidels that survived, fought less to save their own lives, than to take away those of some knights. They all suffered themselves to be cut to pieces to the last man ; and, what had been seldom seen in these kind of engagements, the prior took his galley, without making so much as a single prisoner.

THE infidels, who were in the other gallies, discovered no less courage and intrepidity: notwithstanding the great odds in the number of the ships, and though they were surrounded with 38 Christian gallies, they yet fought with as much resolution as those of the admiral galley. At last the Christians forced victory to declare herself in their favour ; but they bought it at a very dear price ; and not to mention a great number of soldiers, they lost in it Anthony Doria, one of the general officers, the chevalier Copez, and a great number of others of the same order, who were either wounded, or lost their lives in this engagement.

THE emperor's general having notice that ten French gallies were set sail from the port of Marseilles, to carry an ambassador of Francis I. to Constantinople, lay under cape Passaro, in order to surprise them. The general of the order, that he might observe an exact neutrality between these princes, drew off from the body of the fleet. He employed this interval in scouring the coasts of Calabria, and gave chase to two great galiots, and a corsair foist, of which he made himself master, and delivered 400 Christians out of slavery, whom he carried into the port of Malta. with the prisoners he had made. The whole body of people ran to congratulate him upon the happy success of his first arms,
and

and drew the most happy presages from thence ; which he afterwards verified by the great actions he performed, both in the ocean and in the mediterranean. Scarce had this young general disarmed his ships, when he heard, that Philip Strozzi his father had been taken prisoner in an engagement by young Cosimo of Medicis, duke of Florence ; that this prince had caused him to be carried into that city, loaded with irons, and that they were actually at that time prosecuting him as a criminal of state, and a rebel. The prior of Capua, in the deepest affliction at this dismal news, begged the council to dismiss him ; which having obtained, he hired a brigantine at his own expence, and immediately set sail for Italy.

For the better understanding of this historical incident, which will have a very great influence on all we have occasion to mention hereafter concerning the prior, who was one of the greatest captains of his age, the reader must recollect the several passages in the foregoing book relating to the war which the emperor Charles V. had made against pope Clement VII. of the house of Medicis. During this war, and the imprisonment of this pontiff, the citizens of Florence had divided themselves into two parties ; the one who adhered to the house of Medicis, was for raising it to the throne, and absolute monarchy : the other maintained the ancient form of government, and was for maintaining their liberty, and a republican administration. As long as pope Clement and the emperor continued at variance, this last prince sided publicly with the republicans ; they relied entirely upon his protection, and the Medicis had been drove from Florence, as tyrants, and enemies of the public liberty.

BUT the emperor, whose resolutions varied with his interest, being reconciled with the pope, the confidence of the Florentines abated, and their liberty was very much endangered. By the treaty made between the pope and Charles V. the Medicis were to be restored in Florence, to all the dignities and possessions they had enjoyed before their banishment ; and by a secret article,

title, the emperor had engaged himself to establish Alexander de Medicis, bastard son of Laurence duke of Urbino ; or, according to others, son to Clement himself, prince, and perpetual governor of that republic. This was the cause of the siege, which the troops of the pope and emperor, in concert, carried on before that place ; and after having made themselves masters of it, that they might not terrify the republican party, the emperor would have the new prince take upon him no more than barely the title of governor of the republic of Florence. But Alexander, who was too young to prescribe bounds to his ambition, and seeing himself afterwards the emperor's son-in-law, by his marriage with Margaret of Austria, natural daughter of that prince, affected mightily the majesty of kings, and governed this state with an haughtiness and independence, which rendered him odious, not only to his fellow-citizens, but even to his very relations. Upon which a dangerous conspiracy was formed against the life of this prince, at the head of which was Philip Strozzi, husband of Clarissa of Medicis, and sister to pope Leo X. and he had the art to engage in the same plot Laurence of Medicis, cousin to the governor his next heir, and even his favourite. Perhaps, besides the motive and pretext of defending the public liberty, he might have had an eye to that great succession, and was more an enemy to the prince than to the principality. Be that as it will, this perfidious wretch, who administered to all the pleasures of duke Alexander, pretending he had appointed him a rendezvous with a Florentine lady at his house, got him thither, and stabbed him. But instead of seizing upon the palace, and exciting the people by the hopes, and the specious bait of liberty, to take up arms in his favour, trouble, astonishment, and fear, succeeded to so cruel an action. He fled, and the partizans of the house of Medicis, recovering from their surprise, and being unable to support themselves without a head, filled up the dignity of duke Alexander with Cosimo de Medicis, tho' of a distant branch, a youth scarce sixteen, yet of a judgment vastly superior

to his years, and who, in so delicate a juncture, discovered as much courage as ambition. He was son to John of Medicis, one of the most famous captains of Italy, and of Mary Salviati, a woman as much celebrated for her noble extraction, as for her wisdom and conduct. This lady, ever since the death of John of Medicis, had lived in widow-hood with great austerity, and, shutting herself up in her house, had employed all her thoughts in the education of young Cosimo. Upon the first news she had of their design to advance her son to the dignity which duke Alexander had enjoyed, whether it were maternal tenderness inspired her with fear, when she thought of his filling up so dangerous a post; or that, as some historians have advanced, that generous woman preferred the liberty of her country to the aggrandizing of her son, she employed her tears and intreaties to dissuade him from accepting it. But Cosimo, either more resolute, or more ambitious, without listening to her remonstrances, abandoned himself to the partizans of his house. By their credit, he was acknowledged for governor of the common-wealth in a public assembly: and the emperor, having notice of the fatal death of his son-in-law, confirmed this disposition. Cosimo took the reins of government into his hands; and, tho' so young, conducted himself with so much prudence, that it would not be easy to determine, whether he was most indebted to his skill, or his good fortune, for the principality of Florence.

STROZZI, and the Partizans for a republican government, seeing the Medicis party prevail in the city, withdrew out of it, and gave out secret commissions for the levying of forces, to enable themselves to return into it sword in hand. They flattered themselves, that young Cosimo, busied with the cares of his infant government, would not so soon be able to pursue them. But this prince, who had faithful spies in all their cabals, soon had notice of their armament; and, in order that they might not have time to increase it, he went out of Florence at the head of his friends, and the standing forces of the government; and strengthened
by

by the authority of the laws, of which he himself was the depository, he marched directly against the Strozzi, who were publicly proscribed by the magistracy. Both parties met near Marono, a village not far from Florence, and soon engaged ; but 'twas rather a rout than a battle. The greatest part of the conspirators, fearing to fall into the hands of their enemies, took to their heels. Strozzi, and a few faithful friends, who were resolved not to abandon him, stood their ground, and fought like desperadoes, who were resolved to be cut to pieces ; but they were disappointed. Cosimo, whom it so nearly concerned to have the most exact account of the forces, and the secret correspondence of that party, had given orders that their lives should be spared, in which he was obeyed, for they contented themselves with surrounding them ; when being disarmed, they were immediately put in irons, and were carried into the prisons in Florence ; after which they began to prosecute them.

'Twas on such dismal news, that the prior of Capua set out from Malta for Italy, to labour at the procuring of his father's liberty. But being arrived at Naples, he was informed, that he had killed himself in prison during his confinement ; whether it were to avoid the ignominy of his execution, or, as some historians have given out, thro' fear least the violence of the rack, and other kinds of torture, should extort from him the name of the secret partizans which he had in the city. This man, whom the heathens of antiquity would have adored, but whom the Christians condemn, killed himself with a sword, which had been left in his chamber. The following verse of Virgil was found upon the mantle-tree, which he had engraved with the point of his sword.

Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor !

O may there rise some 'venger of our blood !

Virgil.

His

His children, faithful to their father's memory, devoted themselves to revenge his death, but in a glorious manner, which the laws authorised. As they considered the emperor as no other than the subverter of the liberty of their country, and the indirect author of their father's death, they went over to the French, and served in their armies. Peter Strozzi the eldest rose by his valour to the dignity of marshal ; and the prior of Capua distinguished himself in the sea-service, in which he commanded as general of the galleys : nor was he less serviceable to his own order, as we shall find in the sequel of this history ; and would afterwards have been chosen grand master, had not they been apprehensive that he, in order to gratify his particular resentment, would have broken through the neutrality which the grand masters, and the body of the order, had always professed to observe with regard to Christian princes.

DURING his absence and his stay in Italy, the chevalier Paul Simeoni, prior of Lombardy, who had contributed so much to the taking of Tunis, was made general of the galleys, and ordered soon after to go along with the marquis of Terra Nova, to the port of Susa in Africa, which having revolted from Muley Hascen, king of Tunis, that prince intended to besiege.

SUSA stood upon a rock near the sea, at eight or nine leagues distance from Tunis, beyond Cape-bon. Its haven is secure, and, like the place, defended by an old castle, which is fortified and surrounded by ditches, with an esplanade quite round. The Turks, since the emperor's return from the conquest of Tunis, had seized on most of the places which lay along the coast, and had shut up Muley Hascen in his capital ; who, in order to recover the entire possession of his dominions, and to clear them of such usurpers, had applied to the order of St. John. In pursuance of which, he sent an ambassador, Camugi by name, to Malta, to implore succours from the knights. That minister, in order to engage them in this enterprise, represented to them, that the corsairs had fortified Tachiora ; that they had put a strong garrison in it, under the command of Morat Aga, one

one of the principal captains of Barbarossa ; that they expected that general of the corsairs with a large fleet ; and that the order would never be able to keep Tripoli, if they did not traverse his designs. The grand master thought proper to send this advice to the emperor, who finding that the defence of Muley his vassal concerned himself more nearly than it did the order, pressed the grand master to join his forces to those of Sicily, in order to clear the coast of Barbary of the Corsairs ; and at the same time ordered his viceroy to furnish Muley all the succour he should have occasion for, to form the siege of Sufa.

THE grand master, and the viceroy, fitted out fourteen gallies, on board of which were a good number of knights and troops, in the service of the order ; to which the viceroy joined 3000 foot as his quota, under the command of the marquis of Terra Nova, a Sicilian nobleman, who was to be general of the land forces, whilst the general of the gallies of the order kept out, and commanded at sea.

THIS squadron, passing through the channel of Malta, came off the place where Muley had pitched his camp. The marquis of Terra Nova, and the knights, landed their troops and a train of artillery, which the king of Tunis wanted ; they then opened the trenches, and planted batteries, which began to play upon the weakest part of the town, which they would infallibly have taken, had not the marquis been imposed upon by a renegado, who had advised him to change the place of his battery. This renegado, feigning to have made his escape, and pretending to be greatly grieved for his having quitted his religion and his country, threw himself at the marquis's feet, shedding a flood of tears at the same time, and begged him to pardon his desertion and apostacy. The marquis, deceived by these specious marks of his repentance, promised him the utmost security in his army ; and also, that after the taking of Sufa, he would carry him back to Europe. He then began to enquire of the renegado about the condition of the place, to whom the traitor gave

gave an account, agreeable to what he had concerted before with the governor: he particularly told him, with an air of the utmost sincerity, that the quarter which his cannon played upon was the strongest part of the place; that the wall there was strengthened with a rampart, and that tho' they might possibly ruin and beat it down, they yet would find deep intrenchments behind it, fortified with flanks and redans, and lined with a good number of musketeers to keep off the assailants; and added moreover, that the governor, finding him engaged in attacking that place, had made his boasts, that all the Christians should perish in it. The marquis, to whom this account gave no small uneasiness, asked him which was the weakest post of the place: which being just what the renegado wanted, he shewed him the strongest part; when the marquis, deceived by the advice of this insidious wretch, changed his batteries and made all his efforts against some towers which flanked the castle. These towers, the renegado assured him, would be demolished by his cannon in a moment; but they spent all the powder they had brought from Malta and Sicily, on making only a very narrow breach. However, as their ammunition failed, the marquis, who was not yet undeceived, resolved to attempt an assault. In pursuance of which, an hundred and thirty knights, and four hundred soldiers in the service of the order, mounted it first; who, though they could march only in files, one after another, they yet got to the top of the breach, where they intended to have made a lodgement; but they met with such large and deep intrenchments before them, and were exposed to such volleys of shot from the muskets, and cross-bows in the flanks, as obliged them to retire. They then proposed to turn the attack and the batteries on another side but were prevented by the want of powder. 'Twas with the utmost anguish, that the marquis saw himself under a necessity of raising the siege, who, before he reimbarked, resolved to vent his anger on the renegado; but that villain, pleased with the happy success his artifice had met with, was fled back into the town, to receive

the reward of his treachery and hypocrisy ; and the knights, after having left a great number of their comrades and soldiers at the foot of the walls, and on the breach, returned desponding to Malta, where they complained that the emperor had sacrificed the forces of the order, under a general so very unfit to command over them.

THE commander Botigella seconded these just complaints with his advice. He was just returned from his government of Tripoli, which being expired, Ferdinand de Bracamont, commander of Ecolca, was nominated his successor ; and Alonso Cordan, a knight of great reputation, was to command the cavalry of the place. Botigella, on his return, took occasion, from the ill success of the siege of Susa, to represent to the grand master and council, that experience ought to have made them sensible, how impracticable it was for the Christians ever to make any fixed and durable conquests on the coast of Africa, and among the Moors ; and that, either from the aversion which a difference of religion is apt to inspire, or from the natural inconsistency of those people, who were altogether as unfaithful to sovereigns of their own nation, as they were to foreigners ; that most of the cities along the coast of Africa, since the return of Charles V. had revolted more than once ; that the wars which they maintained, and the squadrons which they fitted out to assist the emperor, drained the order of its best subjects, and cost them immense sums ; that the cession, which that prince had made, or, to speak more properly, the burthensome condition which he had laid upon them, of undertaking the defence of such a place, which he had annexed to the conveyance of the isle of Malta, ought to be considered as a fatal present to the order ; and that the only remedy left was to deliver it back immediately to that prince ; or, in case of his insisting on the knights continuing still there, to insist that he himself should put it in a state of defence, and be at the expence of raising the fortifications, and other works necessary to enable it to sustain a siege.

WHAT

WHAT deference soever the council might have for the opinion of Botigella, they yet thought proper, in so important an affair, to consult such knights as were best skilled in fortification, and particularly those who had commanded in the place. These all unanimously concluded that it was not tenable; and, upon their report, the council dispatched the bailiff de Grolée to the emperor. He, after his arrival at his court, represented to him, that it would be impossible to keep Tripoli, unless they fortified it with walls of a necessary height and thickness; that ditches of a proper breadth, and bulwarks for its better defence, were wanting; that unless these precautions should be taken, they would only expose all the knights there to be cut to pieces; that if the town should be taken, it would be impossible for the castle, which was built after the antique fashion, to hold out above a few days; and, lastly, that it was perhaps more the emperor's interest to abandon such a weak place, to blow up the castle, and fill up the mouth of the harbour. But the emperor, who was neither willing to be at the expence of fortifying it, nor to deprive himself of a port which served as a key to Africa, and cost him nothing for its defence, ordered the bailiff to tell the grand master from him, that he would neglect nothing to put Tripoli in a condition of defence; that he desired the order to keep always a strong garrison in it, and that in case the infidels should besiege it, He would immediately send positive orders to the viceroy of Sicily, to throw in all the necessary succours. he continued to say, that he hoped to be able, in a little time, to drive all the Turkish corsairs out of the coasts of Africa, and that till such time as he could turn his arms on that side, the order would oblige him in joining their gallies to the fleet he had sent into the Mediterranean.

THE bailiff, at his return, having given the council an account of the success of his embassy, they immediately fitted out four gallies, having on board 200 knights, under the command of Sineoni bailiff of Lombardy, who joined the Christian army at Messina,

which Andrew Doria, prince of Melphi, and great admiral to the emperor, commanded. This general was a Genoese, and born of a noble family, which he rendered still more illustrious by his prodigious bravery. King Francis I. and pope Clement VII. had both of them given him the command of their fleets. After having quitted the king's service, he went to the emperor's. This prince, whose intrigues were more formidable than his sword, and who was so artful in corrupting his enemy's generals, got this Genoese over to his side, by the offers he made him of an annual pension of 60,000 ducats, and also of maintaining constantly twelve galleys under his command; assuring him, at the same time, that Genoa should enjoy its liberty, under the emperor's protection, and that Savona should be reduced under their dominion. Doria, after having agreed to these articles, gave out, in order to justify his changing sides, that the king of France did not pay him the subsidies stipulated for maintaining his galleys; that he had baulked him of the ransom he was to have for the prince of Orange, his prisoner of war; and that, notwithstanding all the instances he had used with the ministers of Francis I. in favour of the Genoese his countrymen, he yet could never prevail so far as to have them treated with less oppression and severity. 'Tis pretended, that this last motive of complaint had a greater influence on his shifting sides than all the rest; and that this general, who was fond of glory, flattered himself, that he should immortalize his name, by delivering his country from the dominion of the French. Probably too, that under colour of the emperor's protection, and the shadow of this liberty, he might at the same time have had an eye to the establishing his own authority there, for the rule of the government.

WHATEVER might be the source of these different motives, 'tis certain, that France could hardly have suffered a more considerable loss, or the emperor have made a more useful acquisition; for he employed him equally against Solymán and Francis I. and in the present occasion,

caſion, he not only commanded the veſſels of Charles V. but had likewiſe the ſupreme authority over all the reſt, in quality of generaliſſimo over all the fleet of the Chriſtian league.

THE pope was alſo engaged in this league, which the emperor and the order of Malta had made; and their buſineſs now was to draw the Venetians into it; but they carefully avoided all occaſions of coming to a rupture with Solymán, a formidable prince, whoſe territories were adjoining to thoſe of that republic. Doria, in order to render them ſuſpected to Solymán, and make as if thoſe republicans were to act in concert with him, wrote to Girolamo Pezaro, their general; by which he told him, that it would be neceſſary to attack the Turks, before their ſeveral ſquadrons ſhould be joined. He ſent this letter by a ſmall bark, which, as he deſigned it, fell into the infidels hands, which they ſent immediately to Solymán, who thereupon made bitter complaints of it to the bailo or embaffador of the commonwealth. In vain did that miniſter proteſt that the republic of Venice had no intelligence with Charles V. all his oaths and proteſtations made no great impreſſion on Solymán. “ There is, ſays that prince to him, but “ one way left to juſtify your maſters, which is, that “ they immediately ſign a league with me againſt the “ emperor, and join their ſhips to my fleet, in order “ to attack his dominions.” The ſenate, whoſe fundamental maxim was the obſerving of a neutrality, rejected the propoſal; and an accident happened, at the ſame time, which furniſhed an occaſion or pretence for a rupture.

THE Sultan's imperial galley being ſeparated by a ſtorm, fell by night into the fleet of the Venetians, when Alexander Contarini, provveditor-general of the army, taking it in the dark for a veſſel belonging to the corſairs, attacked it, killed the rais or commander, cut 300 janizaries to pieces, and made himſelf maſter of it. Solymán made great complaints on this ſubject, and demanded that Contarini ſhould be delivered into his hands, to be puniſhed; but not being able to attain

this satisfaction, he declared war against the Venetians. Whatever share the knights might have in this war, 'twould be foreign to my present purpose to enter into the detail of it ; all I shall observe is, that the Christian and Turkish fleets met near a bay of the Adriatic ; that they cannonaded each other furiously ; but that the Turks, who were under Barbarossa's command, finding themselves to be weaker, retired into the bay of Arta, to avoid coming to a general engagement ; that several battles had been fought, but not one of them decisive ; and finally, that Doria, notwithstanding his having been earnestly solicited by the patriarch of Alexandria, who commanded the pope's squadron, and by the knights of St. John, had yet obstinately refused, under pretence that there was not wind enough for his ships to advance against the enemy, and had looked quietly on, whilst Barbarossa made his escape, for fear of destroying the only general the enemy had, who was formidable to his master ; since, that as long as Barbarossa should be living, he would be necessary to the emperor : a piece of policy, which both Barbarossa and Doria reciprocally observed, who, without any concerted intelligence between them, never pushed their advantage contrary to their respective interests, so far as to get rid of an enemy, who, tho' he were a rival, was yet of use to enhance their several talents and capacities.

THE Christians were less successful at land than they had been at sea. The conquest of Hungary had always made part of the vast project, or, to speak more properly, part of the chimera of an universal monarchy ascribed to Charles V. In consequence of which, Ferdinand, king of the Romans, who was brother to the emperor, in concert with him, or rather by his orders, had actually invested the town of Buda ; and Rocandorf, one of his generals, was carrying on the siege with great vigour. Solyman, who was jealous of any accession of power to the house of Austria, and under pretence that Sepusius, the last king of Hungary, had, by his will, appointed him to be tutor to his infant son,

son, sent Mahomet, one of his bashas, to throw succours into the place. The Turkish general attacked and forced the lines of the Austrians, cut above 20,000 men to pieces, either put to flight, or took prisoners the poor remains of the army ; and Solymian, arriving soon after in Hungary, entered into Buda, into which he put a strong garrison, under pretence of preventing the designs of Ferdinand ; and, in order to cloak his usurpation, declared publicly, that as soon as the young king should be of age, he would deliver him up the place.

NOTWITHSTANDING a solemn promise made, which ambitious princes never want pretences to excuse themselves from performing, this enterprize of the grand signior alarmed the Hungarians no less than the Germans. No body questioned but that the emperor would bring a mighty force into the field, in order to rid himself of so formidable a neighbour : 'twould have been a sight altogether worthy the attention of all other monarchs, to see those two great princes, both of them so powerful and so ambitious, fighting against each other, and disputing the entire possession of Hungary in the field. But whether it were that Charles V. did not care to trust his glory to fortune, or that he flattered himself with succeeding in another enterprize, the event of which was less doubtful ; that prince, whose designs were always impenetrable, left the defence of Hungary to the king his brother, in order to attack Africa, and fall upon the dominions of Barbarossa. The absence of that corsair king, who was gone to Constantinople, made him flatter himself that he should meet with a weak opposition in the taking of Algiers ; and he hoped to have the same success in the siege of this place, as he had had in that of Tunis. For which end, he issued out orders in Spain, in Naples, and in Sicily, for making preparations suitable to the greatness of the enterprize. Ferdinand Cortez, the Spaniard who acquired so much glory by the discovery and conquest of Mexico, was appointed to command the armament that was to be made in Spain. Ferdinand de Gonzaga, and
Don

Don Pedro de Toledo, viceroys of Sicily and Naples, carried on their preparations with as great application in those two kingdoms. They drew a good body of cavalry from Germany, and the county of Burgundy; and Camillo Colonna, Augustin Spinola, and Antonio Doria, having the commission of colonels, made levies of foot all over Italy.

THE grand master of Malta received a letter at the same time from the emperor, written in the most obliging terms, by which the knights were invited to join their forces to his, for the undertaking of an holy war, which, he assured them, was designed only for the destruction of the corsairs, and the enemies of the order. So great was the number of knights who offered themselves for this expedition, that Malta and the convent would have been left desert, had not the grand master prudently limited this succour to four hundred knights. These went on board four gallies of the order, each knight being attended with two servants well armed; and George Schilling, great bailiff of Germany, and at that time general of the gallies of the order, was appointed to command the squadron; who, in the port of Bonifacio, joined part of the emperor's fleet, commanded by him in person, from whence they went to Majorca, where the ships and gallies had orders to rendezvous before the end of September.

THERE was no one that could flatter himself with the hopes of succeeding in an enterprise, which was undertaken when the season was so far advanced: but as the emperor pursued it with great vigour, the courtiers, whose whole employment is flattery, were not willing to suggest to him a truth so contrary to his inclination. So that there was no one but Andrew Doria, the great admiral, and the marquês del Guasto, general of the land forces, that durst presume to represent to him the perils to which he was going to expose himself: and Doria, who was the greatest seaman of his age, told him, that no pilot, in such a season, durst venture out to sea for any time, without the utmost necessity; that the sea of Barbary was at that time very
subject

subject to storms, and that he was afraid lest a gust of wind should scatter his fleet, and hinder the success of his arms : and the venerable old man added, in his military stile, “ Suffer yourself, says he to him, to be diverted from this enterprise, for if we should go, we shall be all lost by God.” To which the emperor replied, laughing, “ Two and twenty years of empire for me, and three-score and twelve of life for you, ought to satisfy us, so as to make us both die contented.” And so, without altering his resolution, he went on board, set sail towards Algiers ; when, after having met with a pretty violent storm, he at last got into the road of Algiers, where he arrived on the 24th, or, as others have it, on the 26th of October.

THOUGH the wind was down, yet the sea still ran so high, that they were forced to defer the landing for two days, in order to prevent the soldiers being forced to wade through the water up to the middle. It was afterwards made, without any great opposition from the infidels, when sixty galleys put their troops ashore, and the great ships landed theirs in boats : After their disembarkation, the army on land was found to consist of 20,000 foot, and 6000 horse. The emperor, in order to prevent jealousies, which too often arise between different nations, divided his troops into three bodies ; the first was composed of Italians, to whom he joined the knights and soldiers of Malta, under the command of the grand bailiff, who received no orders from any body but the emperor. The Spaniards, all of them old soldiers, were put in the second body ; and the Germans, Burgundians, and a great number of volunteers, composed the third. The Spaniards had the van, the Italians the main body, where the emperor was in person, and the Germans were put in the rear. Every one of these bodies had three field-pieces at the head of their line, to play upon the Arabs, who, without keeping any order, made their attack, did what execution they could, then wheeled off, and were incessantly returning to the charge.

THE

THE emperor ordered the battalion of Malta to extend itself to the left of the main battle, to repulse those light horse; the knights were on foot, armed with cuirasses and head-pieces, and a long or half pike in their hands. The author of a relation sent to the pope, observes, that their subvests were all of damask or crimson velvet, on which their white crosses being placed, made a glittering shew; and that they discovered such an air of grandeur and intrepidity, as gave terror to all such Barbarians as durst approach them. The emperor's head quarters were marked out between two brooks; and he planted heavy artillery all around a little hill, which at the same time played both upon the town and the country.

THE city of Algiers, built in form of an amphitheatre, stands on the declivity of a hill over against the port; the foundation of which is ascribed to the son of Juba king of Mauritania. Barbarossa, at his setting out for Constantinople, committed the government of it to an old eunuch, named Hascen, who was an aga, and a renegado of the island of Sardinia, a great seaman, and one in whom he entirely confided. The emperor, before he attacked the place, dispatched a gentleman to him, to persuade him to surrender it. The envoy, in order to determine him to it, gave him an account of the emperor's power, his forces, his land and sea armies, at the same time offering him considerable sums; and concluding his discourse with a representation, that he ought to make use of this occasion to return into his own country, and of being re-admitted into the bosom of the church, from which he had been unhappily divorced by his unfortunate circumstances. The eunuch heard him out with patience, but all the answer he returned him, was, "That it was a great
" piece of folly for any one to take upon himself to
" advise an enemy; but that it was a much greater
" to hearken to the advice that an enemy gave." Upon which, he immediately dismissed the gentleman.

THE governor had with him 300 Turks, who were old and experienced soldiers, and about 6000
inhabi-

inhabitants, partly Moors, and partly refugees of Granada, all bearing arms, and all to a man resolved to be killed upon the spot, rather than fall again under the dominion of the Spaniards. The aga had likewise sent money and presents to several captains of the Arabs, in order to engage them to scour the country, and harraß the camp of the Christians ; to which they had but too natural a propensity, from the genius of their nation, which subsists only by incursions and plunder. All the plain was soon covered over with them ; most of them had long javelins, which they hurled with so much dexterity, that the Christians found it a very difficult matter to parry the stroke.

WHILST these light horse were continuing their skirmishes, there arose, as night was coming on, a terrible storm, attended with an excessive cold rain, and which powered down in such floods, that it filled the Christian camp with water. The rain soaked the ground to such a degree, that they could march only in dirt and mire ; besides, as they had not had time sufficient for the landing of their tents and equipages, the whole army had nothing but the sky to cover them ; so that the soldiers matches were quite put out, and the powder in their pouches all wet. The governor, in order to make his advantage of this disaster, sallied out at day-break, with part of the garrison, who first fell upon three companies that were posted upon a stone-bridge, which led to one of the gates of the town : and the infidels, finding these soldiers benumbed with cold, cut them to pieces. This little success encouraged them to fall upon the emperor's quarter ; but the colonels Colonna and Spinola ran thither, at the head of their regiments, sustained by the knights of Malta, who, though on foot, fell in so furiously among the Turkish and Moorish cavalry, that they killed a great number of them, and dismounted several. The author, to whom I am obliged for part of this relation, says,^a that a French knight, brother Nicholas de Villegagnon

^a Relation du siege d'Alger adressée au pape Paul III. par le secretaire de son legat,

non by name, throwing himself, with an impetuosity, natural to his country, into the midst of the infidels, was wounded in the left arm by a Moorish horseman, who struck him with his lance; but that the knight, having missed the thrust he made at him with pike, as the Moor was turning his horse to give him a second blow, the knight, who was very tall, and of a strength proportionable to his stature, leaped upon the crupper of his enemy's horse, gave him a stab, and threw him to the ground. Nor were his companions inferior to him in bravery; for they all rallied about the standard of the order, when Ferdinand de Gonzaga, one of the emperor's lieutenant generals, addressing himself to the grand bailiff of the order, cried out, "Courage my brave commander; 'tis not enough for us to beat these dogs, we must pursue them, and enter with them into Algiers; 'tis destined for your knights alone to finish a war before it be begun, and take a place of such strength without arms or artillery." The knights, who, by this time, had little strength left but what their courage supplied them with, did not yet need to be encouraged with such discourses; but, inflamed with the highest ardor, pursued the enemy to the very gates of the city, and were just ready to throw themselves into the place, when the governor, who was resolved to sacrifice all his soldiers who were out of the city, to the fury of the Christians, ordered the gates to be shut. The above mentioned writer relates, that the chevalier Ponce de Savignac, a Frenchman, who carried the standard of the order, fixed his dagger in the gate, as a proof that he had advanced as far as it was possible for him to go. As the rain ceased in the morning, the old governor seeing from the walls that his soldiers, in this sally, had had none but the knights, and some Italian companies to fight with, he ordered the artillery, which was upon the town rampart on that side, to be levelled against them; and, at the same time, in order to prevent their retreat, he made a second sally with the best troops of his garrison, armed with iron cross-bows, which were of great use to them

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in rainy weather. They were now come a second time to a close engagement, when most of the Italians, who were raw soldiers, that had never seen a battle, and being also benumbed with cold, either ran away, or suffered themselves to be cut to pieces, without offering to make the least defence. The emperor, having notice of the danger to which the knights were exposed, sent some companies of Germans to their succour: the bailiff Schilling, of the same nation, put himself at their head, made a fresh charge upon the infidels, pushed them a second time to the gates of Algiers, and brought back his troops covered with glory and wounds. The infidels shot poisoned arrows, so that all who were wounded with them died afterwards, and among the rest, brother Ponce de Savignac, standard-bearer of the order, the very knight who had stuck his dagger in the gate of Algiers. This brave man, notwithstanding his having received a large wound from a cross-bow, and though he felt the poison creeping forward, and approaching his heart, he yet had the courage and strength to carry his standard, supported only by a soldier, always aloft, and would not quit it till the moment he expired. 'Tis said, that the order, besides this knight, and the chevalier de Villars, of the language of Auvergne, who was disabled by his wound, lost above 75 knights on this occasion; among which are reckoned brother Diego de Coutreas a Spaniard, brother Lopez Alvarez a Navarette, brother John di Pennas a Castilian, brother Peter de Reffay, John Babot, Charles de Gueval, and John Pinard, all Frenchmen, brother Joseph de la Cosa, and brother Maria Catracanti, Italians, three chaplains of the order, and about 400 soldiers in the service of the order.

BUT this loss was inconsiderable, if compared to that which the emperor sustained that day, by the loss of the greatest part of his fleet. Black clouds began to hide the light of the sun, after which followed such a violent storm, that it looked as if the winds, the sea, the earth, lightning, thunder, rain, and all the elements confounded, had conspired together to destroy

the army of the Christians. The ships, driven from their anchors by the violence of the storm, seemed one while to be carried aloft in the clouds by mountains of water, and the next moment sunk down in the gaping ocean, and seemed to be plunged to the very bottom of it. Some of them, tossed by the violence of the winds, the pilots and mariners being no longer able to manage them, struck, and were dashed to pieces against one another; others, driven along the coast by the force of the tempest, split upon the rocks, and were beat to pieces; so that in less than half an hour, fifteen gallies and eighty six vessels were lost. That which made this loss still greater was, that these ships were laden with provisions; by which misfortune, the land army lost likewise all hopes of subsistence; and especially in a country that was desert, and in the possession of Barbarians, who triumphed in the calamities of the Christians.

IN this extremity, some officers of gallies, seeing their loss inevitable, and hurried on with despair, endeavoured to run a-ground upon the coast, in hopes that the storm would throw them upon some place nearer land. whence some of them might be fortunate enough to save themselves, either by swimming, or getting upon shattered pieces of their vessels. Several took this sad resolution, and either perished miserably, or else were killed by the Arabs, who lined the shore, and who murdered these poor creatures unmercifully, or without caring to make them slaves, as the historian Ulloa, whose father was in this fatal expedition, informs us. This author relates further, that the vessel of Don Antonio Carriero, a flag officer, having been split to pieces, a young Spanish maiden of exquisite beauty, who was his mistress, and was on board his ship, being thrown by the waves upon the shore, an Arab, at the sight of her rich cloaths, and the jewels she had on, ran immediately to seize upon her as his prey; and without being the least moved with either the prayers, tears, or even the charms of that young lady, murdered her inhumanely in cold blood.

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THE sea was now covered over with broken vessels, pieces of timber, and bodies of men and horses, which were floating up and down. The galley of Janetin Doria, the great admiral's nephew, whom he loved so entirely, running designedly a-ground, stuck fast in the sand on the sea-shore. He too would have been killed by the Arabs, had not the emperor, who was a melancholy spectator of the wreck, sent down Don Antonio d'Arragon, with some Italian companies, who saved him from those Barbarians. Historians say, that the admiral, hearing of the danger he had run, cried out, with tears in his eyes, "My nephew was to be exposed to that misfortune, to teach me before I die to weep at sea." Twelve gallies belonging to the admiral, four commanded by Virginio Urfini, several gallies of Naples and Sicily, and three hundred colonels, captains of ships, and other officers by sea and land, and upwards of 3000 men, soldiers and mariners, were lost on this occasion.

THE mariners of a galley of Malta, called *the Bastard*, having endeavoured to run her a-ground on a flat shore, where they might have saved their lives, brother Francisco d'Azevedo, who commanded her, perceiving their design, opposed it with the utmost intrepidity. And when the seamen, grown bolder by the common danger, represented to him that the order would be no great sufferers by the loss of the hulk of a galley, which had already served for upwards of twenty years, and had been repaired and refitted several times; the commander, laying hand on his sword, cried out as follows, "The order have intrusted me with this galley, and I will kill the first man who shall offer to sink her; so that we must either perish here, or save her." This heroic resolution, the courage and intrepidity of the knight, inspired his crew with the same bravery; and himself setting them a pattern, and scattering his money plentifully amongst them, they all set their hands to the pump; so that, notwithstanding the vast quantity of water that was got into the hold, he yet saved his galley. Another be-

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longing

longing to the order, called *la Catarinetta*, commanded by John Barrientos, had also like to have been lost by another unhappy accident : for his helm being broke by a violent shock of the waves, the vessel having no rudder, and being driven by the storm, was going to split upon the rocks ; but two bold seamen, tying ropes about them, had themselves let down stark naked into the sea, who fastened on another rudder, which they had in reserve ; and, without any manner of tools but their bare hands, put the needle through the eye of the helm, and by that means saved the galley.

NOR was the land army in less danger, the soldiers having neither tents, equipage, ammunition, nor even a day's provision, and destitute of the necessary remedies to cure the wounded. The author of the relation, from whom I have taken the above mentioned particulars, speaks to pope Paul III. to whom he sent it, as follows : “ I can assure your holiness that I saw five
“ knights of Malta, and above thirty gentlemen volun-
“ teers, faint, and lose all their blood in the dirt, with-
“ out any body's being able to give them the least as-
“ sistance : by the emperor's orders they killed all the
“ horses of the army, and distributed them among the
“ soldiers by companies.”

THAT prince afterwards raised the siege, and kept the same order and method in his return, as he had observed at his landing. The knights of Malta, though most of them were wounded, had yet the post of honour, and were put in the rear, together with the soldiers of the order, and such of the army as were best armed. The author of the relation adds, that they were obliged to oppose the attacks of the governor of Algiers, who made continual charges upon them, at the head of his cavalry, in order to incommode the march of the army. At last the Christians came in the evening to the side of a brook called Alcaras, which the great rains had rendered unfordable, which obliged them to encamp, and spend the night there ; all which the workmen of the army employed in building a bridge, which they made of the
shattered

shattered remains of the vessels that were found upon the shore ; this being done, the army passed over it the next day. After three days march, they arrived near cape Matafus, where the poor remains of the fleet had put in. Here the army re-imbarked, with great joy at quitting the shore ; but they had scarce been three hours under sail, when a new storm arose ; the fleet was again dispersed ; several ships were lost ; and among the rest, one with seven hundred Spaniards on board, which was cast away in the emperor's sight, without there being the least possibility of giving it any succour. In fine, the Christians, after having passed through so many dangers, and been in a continual fear of being swallowed up in the sea, arrived at the port of Bugia, which had been in the Spaniards hands ever since its being taken by Don Pedro de Navarre, general to their catholic majesties. Muley Hascen, king of Tunis, came thither with provisions and refreshments for the emperor and his army, who received him very handsomely, and assured him of his protection ; when the weather growing fair, he set sail on the 16th of November for Cartagena, where he arrived the 25th of the same month. But before he re-imbarked, he sent away the bailiff of Germany, and all the knights, with the highest testimonies of his satisfaction, who being in three gallies that were half shattered, made shift, though with great difficulty, to re-gain the harbour of Malta.

At the same time that the vessels and gallies of the order were detained in Africa at the siege of Algiers, the channel of Malta was often filled with corsairs, who kept the harbour in a manner blocked up, insulted the coasts of the island, and that of Goza, and carried off all such inhabitants as had the ill fortune to fall into their hands. The grand bailiff, at his return, had no sooner resisted his gallies, but he put out to sea again, gave them chace, cleared the channel of those pirates, pursued them as far as the coast of Africa, took several rais or captains, and spread the terror of his name, and the dread of his arms, over all those seas.

BAD weather obliging him to put into the port of Tripoli, he was informed by an envoy from Muley-Hascen king of Tunis, who sent him to the governor of the place, that Barbarossa, incensed that the knights should appear at the head of all the enterprizes that the Christians engaged in against the African Turks, was soliciting at the porte for an order to lay siege to Tripoli; that Morat Aga, his lieutenant, was making preparations for it at Tachora; for which purpose he had raised a redoubt in the village of Adabus, in the neighbourhood of Tripoli, and put an advanced body on it, which kept Tripoli in a manner blocked upon that side: He added further, that Hascen's correspondence, and union with the emperor and the knights, had rendered him odious to the Turks, and other princes of his religion: that several of the principal cities of his kingdom, as Sufa, Monaster, Mahedia or Africa, Esfacos, and Calibia had revolted, some of which had received the Turks into them, whilst others pretended to maintain themselves in an absolute independence by their single strength; that a great number of Tunisian malecontents had, since the emperor's defeat, retired to Algiers, under the protection of Barbarossa; that there was no doubt but they would soon see that formidable corsair, at the head of an army, besieging Tripoli and Tunis; and that Hascen was going to set out immediately to wait upon the emperor, who was in Italy, to ask for those succours, which he hoped to obtain from him, as he owned him for his sovereign.

WE have already observed, that the knights had solicited the emperor, either to put Tripoli in a state of defence, or else to give them leave to fill up the port, blow up the castle, and abandon a city that was so chargeable to the order. The grand bailiff, after having reviewed the place again, held a council of war, at which the governor and principal knights of the garrison were present; and, pursuant to their unanimous resolution, they, with the consent of the grand master and the council, send new ambassadors to Charles V. who were to renew their instances, and to represent to him, that

that it would be impossible to keep a place that was open on all sides, without securing it with good walls, and fortifying them with out-works ; that the country afforded neither stone nor lime for those different works ; that they could not get any from Malta, without a great expence ; not to mention, that the knights found it difficult enough to fortify themselves there : and that in case his imperial majesty should think it proper for them to continue longer in so defenceless a place, it then was necessary for him, to order his viceroy of Sicily to send money, workmen, and materials thither forthwith ; that in order to prevent the siege they were threatned with, and whilst they were at work upon the fortifications, some companies of the Sicilian troops should be put into the place ; and that the gallies of that kingdom, with those of the order, should guard the sea, in order to hinder the infidels from making descents, and opposing the works they were forced to make for the security of the city.

THIS embassy had no better success than the former. For the emperor, who was afraid lest the Turks should attempt the conquest of Sicily, but who at the same time foresaw, that they would never employ their forces on that side, so long as the knights should be masters of Tripoli, was well pleased to have those warriors, at the price of their blood and treasure, employ his enemies forces in Africa : so that he signified to the ambassadors of the order, by his ministers, that he was desirous that the knights, pursuant to the treaty of the seofiment of Malta, should maintain themselves in Tripoli ; to which he added specious promises of a mighty succour, in case the place should be besieged : but he excused himself from granting the troops and money demanded of him, because of the pressing occasion he himself had for it, in order to be able to oppose the forces of the French and Turks, who both attacked his own dominions, or those of the king of the Romans his brother, at the same time, in Flanders, in Italy, and in Hungary.

THE grand bailiff was sensibly concerned to see the ambassadors return without the least succour, and with having been fed with nothing but empty promises: however, as he was a man of great courage, though every thing was wanting to him, he yet was not wanting in what he owed to himself, and his order; so that he, before he left Tripoli, resolved to put it in a condition, in case it should be besieged, of holding out till such time as succours could be brought either from Malta or Sicily. To effect which he employed his crew of galley-slaves in sinking and widening the ditches in several places. They raised the walls higher, and added several works of earth to the castle, in order to keep off all approaches to it; at the same time he himself, and all the knights of his squadron and garrison, attended upon the workmen, and generously employed themselves in those military labours. But as, after all, fortifications which had been raised in so much haste, could at most serve only to protract the loss of the city for some days, the grand bailiff, knowing that the emperor was infinitely jealous of his glory, and would therefore make extraordinary efforts to support Muley Hascen in a kingdom which he considered as his own conquest, wrote to that Moorish king, by which he pressed him to hasten his departure, and go immediately to the emperor's court, flattering himself, that the succours, which he should obtain from that prince, would serve both for the preservation of Tripoli, and that the Turks, when they should see an army of Charles V. on the coast of Africa, would never run the hazard to form the siege of Tripoli, so long as it should continue there.

MULEY, pursuant to this advice, and his own interest, prepared to set out for Italy, leaving the government of his kingdom, and his capital, during his absence, to a Moor called Mahomet Temtes, or the Stammerer; a renegado of the isle of Corsica, Caid Ferrath by name, was to command in the castle: and as the king of Tunis was under continual apprehensions, because of the restless temper of prince Muley Hamida, his eldest son, he, in order to employ him out of the way, sent him

him towards Cap-bon, with ſome companies of Arabs, to reduce ſome cheques, or little lords, who refuſed to pay the tributes which had been laid upon them.

MULEY, after having ſettled this order in his dominions, ſet out from thence, paſſed by Goletta, to viſit prince Mahomet his ſon, who was there in hoſtage with ſeveral Moors ; and, after conferring with Don Francisco de Touar about the occaſion of his voyage, left his jewels and moſt valuable effects in his hands ; putting at the ſame time great preſents for the emperor and his miniſters on board his ſhip : after which he embarked ; and, whether it were from an oſtentation inſeparable from royalty, or for his own ſecurity and defence, in caſe he ſhould be attacked by corſairs in his way, he took with him an eſcorte of five hundred men, who were all either officers of war or courtiers, who ſerved him as a guard. Muley met with a good paſſage, and arrived without any obſtacle in Sicily, from whence he went to Naples, where the viceroy received him with great magnificence : From whence he diſpatched expreſſes, to deſire an interview with the emperor : but that prince, whoſe preſence was immediately neceſſary in Germany, on account of ſome diſturbances which the Lutherans had raiſed, ſent orders to the viceroy to confer with the Moorish prince on the ſubject of his voyage, and, after that, ſend him an account of it.

T H E
H I S T O R Y

O F T H E
Knights Hospitallers

O F
St. J O H N of J E R U S A L E M,

Called afterwards

The K N I G H T S of Rhodes,

And at present

The K N I G H T S of M A L T A.

B O O K X I.

WHILST the king of Tunis, and the minister of Charles V. were conferring together about the best methods that could be employed for the opposing Barbarossa, and the other corsairs, fortune raised an enemy to Muley, whom he had not sufficiently guarded against ; an enemy who afterwards stripped him of his crown. Prince Hamida, Muley's eldest son, had a favourite called Mahomet, who by flattery, and a servile complaisance, the usual arts of courtiers, had gained his entire confidence. This favourite had concealed, in the most secret recesses of his heart, a mortal hatred, and a violent desire
of

J O H N
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of vengeance, against the king, who had put his father to death. He now imagined, that that prince's absence presented him with a favourable opportunity of gratifying his resentment. Upon this he raised suspicions in Hamida's mind, with regard to the king his father's voyage into a Christian country, telling him, at the same time, that he had reason to fear lest Muley should, at his death, leave his crown to prince Mahomet his second son; that this was perhaps the motive of the conferences, which he had with the governor of Goletta; that every body knew he had put all his treasures into his hands, and, that, in all probability, the sole motive of his visiting the emperor was in order to gain his approbation of this disposition, and obtain from him, as from the sovereign lord, an investiture in favour of his brother. Hamida being a young ambitious prince, and burning with the desire of reigning, took fire at the discourse, and, in concert with his favourite, got it to be whispered about in Tunis, that the king his father, being fallen grievously ill at Naples, had before his death desired to be baptized, and had accordingly turned Christian.

IN confidence of these reports, of which he himself was the secret author, and as if he had been certain of his father's death, he came to Tunis, and went to the palace, in order to take possession of it. But the viceroy, who was a resolute and austere old man, reproached him with his too great facility in giving credit to such ill news; and after having told him, that he would give Muley an account of his great eagerness to succeed him, he obliged him to retire from the capital. Hamida, in confusion at the ill success of his artifice, and uneasy at the consequences with which it might be attended, retired to a country house, some miles distance from Tunis. No sooner was he gone out of the place, but the viceroy, getting on board a bark, went to the castle of Goletta, in order to know from the governor of it what news he had received from Sicily and Naples; when being informed that the king his master

master was in perfect health, he returned back with joy to his government.

BUT Hamida's favourite made his advantage of this voyage, and spread new reports among the people ; as, that Muley's death was but too certain : that the journey which the viceroy had just made with so much haste and precipitation to Goletta, was purely upon that account : that it was well known that his brother Adulzes, and young Ferrath, son to the governor of the castle of Tunis, were brought up with Mahomet, and were with him in hostage in the fort of Goletta : that the viceroy had gone thither for no other end, but in order to adjust with them and the Christian governor, the surest measures for the placing of Mahomet on the throne of Tunis ; and that they would infallibly see an army of Spaniards, in a very little time, bring back that young prince to Tunis, and proclaim him sovereign of the kingdom.

THE people, who are always fond of novelty, readily swallowed these reports ; to which, every man adding something of his own, they were thereby improved with a great many fabulous circumstances. The partisans of Hamida were particularly careful to publish, that young Mahomet his brother, having been brought up among the Christians, had secretly embraced the Christian religion, as being the surest pledge he could give the emperor of his fidelity.

THE fear of having a Christian for their sovereign alarmed the whole city. They meet, cabal together, and in fine, send deputies to Hamida, to invite him to come to the succour of a people, who were desirous of setting the crown on his head. They found him walking in his gardens, buried in a profound melancholy, detesting the false step which his favourite had made him take ; and in a thorough persuasion that the king his father, at his return, would never pardon him the fatal eagerness which he had discovered to ascend the throne. But the news of the commotion of the people removed these melancholy apprehensions, and made them give way to joy ; upon which he assembled

ed his partisans, marched at their head, and favoured by the people, enters Tunis, surprises the viceroy and the governor of the castle, gets them murdered, massacres the most zealous subjects of Muley, seizes on the palace; when the young tyrant begins his authority, by the most abominable incest, by forcing the dearest of his father's wives to his embraces.

As soon as the king of Tunis heard this dismal news, being afraid lest his son, in order to support himself on the throne, should strengthen himself with the protection and succour of Barbarossa, he resolved to return immediately into Africa; when, by the viceroy's consent, he levied 2000 men, which he got together among the banditti and exiles, putting an old officer of the country called l'Ofredo at their head; after which, he embarked, and arrived at Goletta, where he had the confirmation of the news, together with the various circumstances of Hamida's revolt. The governor advised him not to stir out of the place, till such time as he should have an exact account of the forces of his enemy, and the dispositions of his subjects: but Muley, possessed with a notion that his son would never dare to stand his presence, and encouraged by l'Ofredo, who was in hopes of enriching himself by the sacking of Tunis, advanced forward. That which finally determined him to take so dangerous a step, especially with so few forces, was, that some traitors, by the secret orders of Hamida, came to meet him on the road, as so many faithful subjects, who were come to fight under the banner of their lawful sovereign; telling him also, at the same time, that they had left his son in a terrible consternation at the news of his return, and in great irresolution what measures to take; and that he designed to retire to the farthest part of the country, and take refuge with some Arabs, who were his friends.

MULEY, imposed upon by the accounts of these traitors, hastened his march. At his drawing near Tunis, he saw some squadrons sally out, who by their countenances, which discovered an air of fear, seemed to advance only with a view to reconnoitre his troops.

They made however some light skirmishes; but whilst this party of rebels was amusing Muley, a greater number advanced, who began a general engagement. The troops having closed together, and begun a bloody battle, Muley, hurried on by his courage, and still more by his resentment, bravely attacked those troops which opposed him; but as he was fighting at the head of a squadron, he received a wound, which his soldiers believing to mortal, it immediately cooled their eagerness and fire. At the same time, a great body of foot, composed of Arabs, whom Hamida had taken into his pay, sallied out of the forest of olives, near Tunis. The Christians now saw themselves quickly surrounded; so that notwithstanding their courage and resolution, the infidels, who were superior in number, cut them to pieces. Some of these endeavouring to fly over the lake to Goletta, were drowned; and the unfortunate Muley, being abandoned both by the Christians and Moors, was taken prisoner. They carried him immediately to his son; but that traitor, who had yet some sense of shame for his crime left, would not see him, but ordered him to be put in irons, and thrown into a dungeon; and the next day he sent executioners to him, to offer him his choice either of death or blindness; when he chusing the latter, they immediately thrust a burning lancet into both his eyes.

THIS surprising revolution in a kingdom that lay so near Tripoli, and which was in alliance with the order of St. John, threw the knights into a great consternation; such especially of them, as saw themselves in Tripoli, at a distance from Malta, quite surrounded with infidels, and in a city that had no fortifications, and which was commanded from several places, expected every moment to be besieged. Ferdinand de Bracamont, who was governor there, despairing to be able to defend it, for any time, and under pretence that there was no honour to be got in the defence of so weak a place, used great instances with the grand master to be recalled and at last got leave to quit his government, and had for his successor, Christopher de Solertarfan,

Solertarfan, the great chancellor, with whose conduct they had afterwards as much reason to be dissatisfied.

HOWEVER, as in a post of such importance, there was need of a governor of great experience, and equally wise and intrepid, the grand master and council thought proper to recal him, and put in his room the commander de la Valette, a knight of the language of Provence, who from the time of his profession at Malta, had never stirred from thence, unless it were to go a cruising against the infidels. He had, in these expeditions, met sometimes with good, sometimes with ill fortune; but had ever discovered the same courage and resolution in both, being sometimes victorious, and sometimes beaten; he also had been taken by the infidels, but the moment he got out of prison, had always gone a cruising again. His very name carried terror along with it, in the seas of Africa and Sicily; and among the great number of knights who went out a cruising, the infidels had not an enemy whom they dreaded more than they did him. He was no sooner arrived at Tripoli, than he made a review of the officers and soldiers, as well of the Christians as of the Moors in alliance with the order. All these he furnished with good weapons, broke all such as appeared to him unfit to bear them, or were convicted of having played them away for want of money; and punished blasphemers severely. He afterwards sent away all useless persons out of the town and castle, erected a magazine of provisions, added new fortifications to the place, as far as its ill situation, and the little money he had, would allow him; when causing an exact plan to be made of it, and of all the coast of Africa, he dispatched a knight with it to the emperor, to shew him of what importance it was for his Italian, and even for his Spanish territories, to keep Tripoli from falling into the hands of the infidels; and particularly into those of Dragut, who was at that time chief of all the corsairs of Barbary, and who had succeeded Barbarossa in that post, and in his design of driving the knights from the coasts of Africa.

DRAGUT, of whom mention is now made, was born in a little village of Natolia, lying over against the isle of Rhodes. His father and mother were Mahometans, both of them poor, who subsisted by tilling of the ground, and the labour of their hands; but this obscure and painful way of life, not suiting the warm and restless temper of young Dragut, he lifted himself when but twelve years of age, under an officer of the artillery, who served on board the grand seignior's galleys. He was at first a cabin-boy, then a common sailor, next a pilot, and afterwards, by his patron's instructions, an excellent gunner, in which quality he served for several years, on board of different vessels; when having gained some money, he came to be a partner in a brigantine of corsairs. After this, he soon got a galiot to himself, and made considerable prizes with it; upon which he encreased his armament, and made himself to be dreaded over all the Levant. There was not one pilot among the infidels who had so perfect a knowledge of the islands, the ports and roads of the mediterranean, as Dragut: but as all who sailed in the seas of Turkey, at that time, depended in some measure on Barbarossa, the grand seignior's admiral, Dragut sought his protection, and went to Algiers to offer him his service.

THE reputation of this corsair had reached there before him; and Barbarossa had been well informed of his valour, and particularly of his capacity in the steering of vessels, for which reason he was glad to engage a man of so much merit in his service. He employed him for several years on various expeditions, in which he acquitted himself to his general's satisfaction, and with extraordinary success. Barbarossa, after having made him pass through all the degrees of service, made him his lieutenant, and gave him the command of a squadron of twelve galleys.

AFTER that time, there never passed a summer but this terrible corsair ravaged the coasts of Naples and Sicily. No Christian ship durst venture to go over from Italy to Spain, but it was immediately snapped up; and
when

when the sea did not furnish him with prizes, he made himself ample amends by descents upon the coasts, when he plundered towns and villages, and carried off the inhabitants into slavery.

THE emperor, tired with the complaints which he received from all quarters concerning Dragut, ordered Andrew Doria his admiral to go in quest of him, find him out, and, cost what it would, to stop his progress, and clear the sea of him. Doria, upon the receipt of the emperor's orders, immediately fitted out all the vessels and gallies he could meet with, that were in a condition to bear the sea; and, as that old general was satiated with glory, he, in order to put his nephew Jannetin Doria in a fair way of acquiring his share of it, left the expedition to him. Hereupon young Doria set sail immediately; sought for Dragut, and was at last lucky enough to meet with him along the coast of the isle of Corsica, in the port or road of Giralatta, a castle seated between Calvi and Layazzo. The corsair, who knew nothing of the emperor's fleet being at sea, thought himself safe in that creek; but he soon found himself shut up in it, and the cannon both of the castle, and of the artillery of the vessels, continually annoying him: He at first defended himself with his usual courage; but the superior fire of the Christians overpowered him; and he saw likewise at the same time all the coasts of the island lined with the inhabitants in arms, a fierce people, who ran to contribute to his defeat, in order to be revenged on the corsair, who had so often ravaged their villages.

IN this extremity, Dragut had no other resource than to put up the white flag, when he desired to enter into a negotiation, and demanded terms, in quality of a prisoner of war. But all the composition he could get was to redeem his life at the price of his liberty; so that he was obliged to surrender himself to the Christian general, together with all the gallies he had under his command: upon which they brought him, together with his officers, on board the admiral galley to young Doria, who as yet not having a beard, the old corsair,

transported with rage, cried out, "Must I, at my age, see myself become a slave to a little smock-faced boy?" The historians of that age relate, that he made use of a term that was much more offensive, and which modesty forbids me to repeat; and that Jannetin, provoked with so outrageous an affront, struck him more than once on the face, and ordered him to be chained.

DRAGUT remained a slave for four years together; and though they offered any terms for his ransom, they yet could never prevail to have his liberty restored. But the Genoese being afterwards alarmed to see the famous Barbarossa with an hundred gallies in the river of Genoa, demanded Dragut from Doria; when to prevent their territory from being ravaged, they sent him back, with presents to the sultan's admiral.

BARBAROSSA restored him immediately to his former post, and gave him, as usual, a detachment of his gallies. The ill treatment he had received whilst he was a slave, had encreased his natural hatred to the Christians; whereupon he over-ran all the coasts of the kingdom of Naples, took and sacked Castel-Lamara, and most of the villages of the coast; made a great number of slaves, and a few days afterwards took a galley of the order, that had been separated from the squadron in a storm, on board of which he found seventy thousand crowns, that were designed for the fortifications of Tripoli; an irreparable loss with respect to that place, as well as to those to whom it belonged. Barbarossa was now returned to Constantinople; where, notwithstanding his being upwards of eighty years of age, he nevertheless passed his days and nights with the fairest of his slaves; but happening to carry his debauch too far, he was found dead in his bed.

SOLYMAN was sensibly concerned at this loss; and, to have his place filled up, ordered all the corsairs of his dominions to submit to Dragut, in quality of their general; but at the same time without honouring him with the dignity of admiral, notwithstanding which, he

he entrusted him with all the authority he had in the Southren parts, and on the coast of Africa.

THE ambition of Dragut grew up with his power, so that he resolved, in imitation of Barbarossa, to seize on some strong place and good port, into which, he, by virtue of Solyman's consent and protection, might bring in his prizes, and make it a kind of petty state and principality for himself. Big with these important views, and even before the orders of the port had determined in what manner the campaign should be carried on, he got together, during winter, all the corsairs that were in those seas, and, putting himself at their head, drove the Spaniards immediately out of the towns of Sufa, Monester, and Fagues, all of them places that had formerly belonged to the kingdom of Tunis ; but which being open, and without any fortifications, received indifferently into their ports the strongest side, whichever it might be, that happened to be master of the sea : so that they had passed several times successively from the dominion of the Moors, and natural princes of the country, to that of the Turkish corsairs, and afterwards fell under the dominion of the Spaniards.

DRAGUT made himself master of them with the same facility ; but as he foresaw that it would be impossible for him to maintain himself in them against all the united forces of the emperor, and that as soon as spring should be come, he should infallibly be besieged by the gallies of Naples and Sicily, he cast his eyes on the town of Africa, otherways called Mehedia, and known in the time of the Romans by the name of Adrumetum. This city, which lies between Tunis and Tripoli, was built upon a narrow slip of land jutting out into the sea ; they called it little Africa, as being one of the most considerable places in that third part of our continent : It was regularly fortified ; its walls were very high ; and it was strengthened moreover with ramparts on the inside, of an extraordinary thickness, provided with towers and bulwarks ; and there was a large train of artillery in it, all in good order. There was also above the town,

town, and on an eminence that commanded it, a fort, or kind of castle, which served for a citadel. The harbour was large, safe, and sheltered from all winds: There was also another that was smaller, and particular for the gallies, which they shut up with iron rails. The waves of the sea washed the walls of the place, and encompassed it on all sides, except only in one part where it joined to the main land.

THE inhabitants, who were all Moors and Mahometans, had, after their revolting from the dominion of the kings of Tunis, their natural princes, formed a commonwealth among themselves; and for fear of being surpris'd, or of any attempt that should be made upon their liberty, would not admit either Turks or Christians into their city; and whenever, from a necessity of trading, they allowed of any foreign vessels coming into their harbour, they never suffered but a few to come in at a time, and that too with such precautions as secured them from being surpris'd.

THIS place, such as we have represented it, became the object of Dragut's ambitious wishes: But as he had not forces sufficient to attack it by open force, and that he was not certain, whether the grand seignior might approve of his employing his arms in that enterprise, he resolv'd to supply with artifice what he wanted in strength, and endeavour to take it by some intelligence which he might gain within the place; being persuad'd that princes very seldom disavow even the most unjust enterprises, when the succeeding in them turns to their advantage: For which end, and in order the better to reconnoitre the place, he sometimes put into the port, with a light brigantine, or galliot only, and oblig'd his soldiers to observe a certain complaisance and decorum that is rarely found among corsairs; after which, he insensibly contracted an acquaintance with one of the principal magistrates, Ibrahim-Barat by name, who commanded one of the principal towers that flank'd the walls of the town. Dragut cultivated this new friendship with presents, consisting of the most curious and valuable things he could meet with in his prizes;

prizes ; which indeed is the only method to gain the confidence of such Barbarians, and even too frequently that of Christians. He next began to insinuate to him, that he would freely admit him as a partner in all those prizes which he daily made, making him sensible of the immense profit that would accrue to him from such a partnership : But at the same time he observed to him, that in order to make this union stronger, and their partnership more durable, it were to be wished, that he could be admitted into the city in quality of a citizen. The Moor, tempted by the hopes of gain, undertook to make the proposal to the council ; but as it was a corsair who made the proposal, it was rejected by all the magistrates, and Ibrahim was severely reprimanded for having been the first who had ever offered such a proposal. The Moor, full of trouble and vexation to see himself refused, went to greater lengths than perhaps he at first thought to go : Dragut, thinking him capable of attempting any thing to be revenged, and in order to make his advantage of the heat of his resentment, made a proposal to him that he should receive him into the tower of the city which he commanded ; and, offering him considerable sums, he brought him to accept of it. The covetous Moor, unable to resist the temptation, entered entirely into Dragut's measures ; after which, their bargain was soon concluded, when they agreed that the corsair should go away immediately ; that, in order to wipe of the remembrance of his designs, and disperse the jealousy which the magistrates might entertain on that account, he should disappear for some time ; that he should afterwards take all the troops which he had in Susa and Monefter, and make them draw off as openly as possible towards Africa ; and that he himself should come in the night to the foot of the tower, at an hour assigned him by the prior, who by the post he commanded would facilitate his entry into the city. This traitorous plot was put in execution before the inhabitants had the least notion of it ; for Dragut was let into the tower in the dark, from whence he entered into, and seized the principal

cipal posts of the city, when the day shewed the citizens their misfortune. They all however ran to arms, and encountered the enemy ; but as every thing was full of trouble and confusion, they fought with more impetuosity than conduct. The corsairs cut part of them to pieces, and obliged the rest to throw down their arms, and submit to acknowledge a man for their master and sovereign, whom they had refused to admit in quality of a citizen. He afterwards brought fresh troops into the place, which inspired a dread of his authority, and was of use in supporting it ; when having established his new dominion on such solid foundations, he put the government of the city into the hands of a young corsair his nephew, rais or captain *Essé* by name.

He afterwards, pursuant to the orders of the porte, set sail from Africa, in order to continue his cruising against the Christians ; but, before he embarked, left orders with his nephew, to make away with the Moor, who had let him into the place, during his absence ; for fear lest a repentance for having betrayed his country, or the hope of a larger recompence, might engage him in a new treachery. The governor did not fail to execute his orders immediately after his departure, and Ibrahim received the reward which his treachery so justly merited.

THE news of the taking of Africa alarmed all the coasts of Sicily, and gave the emperor great uneasiness. This prince saw plainly that the corsair was going to make it the seat of his arms ; that its port would serve him for the future as a retreat for his vessels, and that from thence he might easily infest all those seas, and make a terrible havock over all the coasts of Naples and Sicily ; to prevent which, he resolved to besiege that city, before his dominion should be better settled in it. But before he engaged in so difficult an enterprize, his council was of opinion, that it would be proper to recover *Susa*, *Monester*, and the other places in the neighbourhood, from whence the corsairs might draw succours.

DORIA, pursuant to his orders, put to sea, with the fleet under his command, being reinforced with the pope's gallies ; and the grand master, at the emperor's request, sent those of Malta upon this expedition, under the command of the bailiff de la Sangle. There were in this squadron an hundred and forty knights, and a battalion of four hundred men of the troops in the service of the order. When all these forces were joined, the Christian fleet set sail, stood away for the coast of Africa, and, upon advice, which Doria received, that Dragut was in the port of Moneſter, he went thither to meet him ; but the corsair was too cunning, as well as too diffident, to shut himself up in so weak a place, and therefore sailed out, and put to sea ; when having certain notice that Doria had not troops enough on board his fleet to form the siege of Africa, he, either in order to avoid coming up with him, or else to make a diversion, till such time as he might be satisfied of his designs, over-ran the coast of Spain, where he continued his usual ravages.

DORIA, on his side, pursuant to the emperor's orders, landed his small body of troops at Cap-bon, and seized on the fort of Calibia, the old Clupea of the Romans, from whence he advanced up to the gates of Moneſter : At the approach of the Christian troops, which did not appear to be very numerous, the Turks, together with the inhabitants that had taken arms in their favour, made a sally, not so much with any design of fighting, as to reconnoitre the forces of the enemy. But the knights, who had the van, and were sustained by a Spanish regiment, sparing them the trouble of coming up to them, advanced at a great pace, came up with them, forced the Moors against their wills to come to an engagement, killed a great number of them, put the rest to flight, and pursued them so close, that they got to the city along with them, and by that means made themselves masters of it ; part of the inhabitants, who had not been concerned in the sally, together with such Turks as had escaped the first fury of the victorious, took refuge with the governor in the castle. Doria summoned

moned the commander to surrender, and upon his refusal, planted his batteries, and the artillery played upon the fort. The Christian admiral fancied himself dishonoured by attacking such an inconsiderable place according to the ordinary rules made use of on such occasions ; and therefore, as soon as a breach was made, he, without examining whether it was large enough, ordered them to prepare for the assault. The inhabitants would willingly have capitulated; but the governor, an old corsair, who had a good number of his brother pirates with him, stoutly rejected the proposal. His boldness, and Doria's precipitation, caused both the attack and the defence to be equally warm and bloody; the order lost a great part of its knights in it, and the battle had lasted for above an hour and an half before a judgment could be made of its success ; but the governor having been killed upon the breach with a musket-ball, that blow, as if all the soldiers of the garrison had been knocked down with it, quite damped their courage, and they offered to capitulate. The corsairs, to save their lives, consented to lose their liberty ; and the inhabitants, who, out of zeal for their religion, had taken arms in their favour, did not meet with better treatment.

THE emperor taking this first advantage for a good omen, ordered Doria to dispose every thing for the siege of Africa, and signified to him that the viceroys of Naples and Sicily had orders to furnish him all the succours of troops and ammunition he might have occasion for. Upon this, the admiral wrote immediately to Don Pedro de Toledo, viceroy of Naples, and to Don Juan de Vega, who commanded in Sicily, to send him, with all imaginable expedition, what gallies and ships they had, with a quantity of ammunition and provisions, and a body of land forces on board. During his waiting for their coming up, to prevent any troops from entering into Africa, he posted himself at the islands called Cumilieres or Coniglieries, which lie nearer that place than Monester, though the latter was but at three miles distance. The viceroy of Naples sent him word that he was getting ready a strong reinforcement,

ment, which should be commanded by Don Garcia his son ; the viceroy of Sicily gave him the like assurances ; and added, that as the people of his government, by their situation nearer Africa, were more strongly bound in point of interest, to drive the corsairs out of that place, he therefore designed to head his troops in person ; but as the succours he was preparing were not yet got ready, and that Dragut was scouring the seas with several squadrons, in order to surprize the Christian vessels, and ruin the enterprize, the viceroy, for his security, insisted that the admiral should fix the general rendezvous of all the Christian fleet at Trepano in Sicily : to which he added, that he was resolved to go thither himself, with all his ships and gallies, and, when their squadron should be joined, and all the emperor's sea forces united in one body, they then might go in concert, without the least interruption, to form the siege of Africa.

THE admiral, who, from the Cumilieres islands, kept the port of that place in a manner blocked up, foresaw very well, that if he should quit his post, Dragut would not fail to make use of the opportunity, and throw in succours ; but as he had received private orders, to do nothing in the carrying on the siege without the advice of Don Juan de Vega, who was an old officer, and an excellent general, Doria was forced to go to him to Palermo, from whence they went together to Trepano, at which place the gallies and troops of Naples and Malta were already arrived.

THE Neapolitan succours consisted of twenty-four gallies, and several vessels with land forces on board. Don Garcia de Toledo, as has been already observed, commanded this strong squadron ; and as Doria seldom quitted the sea, that young lord flattered himself with the hopes of carrying on the siege himself, and of having all the honour that would accrue from thence ; but hearing that the viceroy of Sicily had declared his resolution of going thither in person, he was so vexed to see himself balked of the glory he had hoped to gain

by that means, that he re-imbarked as if he intended to go away, and separate from the rest of the army; but in order to cover his discontent with some specious pretence, he told Doria, that as the viceroy his father had received orders from the emperor to put all his gallies to sea, in order to go in search of Dragut, and fight him, he could not dispense with his instructions.

DORIA saw with grief, that this division between the chiefs, arising from a jealousy for the command, would make the enterprise miscarry; and that Don Garcia, though a young officer, yet being independent on the viceroy of Sicily, was for making his advantage of the great occasion they had for the body under his command. He did all that lay in his power to keep him with them, and prevent his going off; and they made a kind of negotiation of that affair; the bailiff de la Sangle, commander of the gallies of Malta, had the management of it by Doria's order: that judicious knight carried messages between both parties; but Don Garcia, what proposals soever they might make him, would not abate a title of his pretensions: he maintained, that as he commanded a fleet and body of troops in chief, nothing could oblige him to serve as a subaltern, without express orders from the emperor to that purpose: that indeed he was sensible of the respect that would be due to the emperor's flag, and to his great admiral, so long as he should be out at sea; but that when they should be a-shore, and especially in a foreign country, he would never submit to receive orders from a general, who had no right to claim any authority over the Neapolitan troops. (This dispute was very warm, and lasted several days; when at last the bailiff de la Sangle, who was of a reconciling temper, brought them to agree to the following resolutions, viz. that they should both have an equal authority a-shore; that each should command the troops which he had brought with him to the siege; that the council of war should regulate and determine the attacks, by the plurality of voices; and that orders should be
given

given in the emperor's name, in the same manner as if he commanded in person at the siege. These disputes being happily over, the whole fleet set sail, stood away for Africa, when they landed the 1550. troops on the east side of the place, on the twenty-sixth of June.

DRAGUT, during Doria's voyage into Sicily and Trepano, had not failed, as that experienced admiral had foreseen, to throw a strong reinforcement into the place; he had put some of his best officers into it, with supplies of provisions and ammunition; and at the same time put out to sea, in order to intercept the convoys that should be sent to the Christian army. The governor of Goletta, who was an officer of great reputation and distinguished valour, came, by the emperor's express orders, to the siege; and the grand master of Malta, knowing the loss which the order had sustained at the assault of the castle of Monaster, sent a new recruit of knights to supply the place of such as had been killed.

AFTER the generals had landed their troops, their ammunition and artillery, they opened the trenches, they raised batteries, and the artillery began to fire upon the place. When the magistrates, and principal inhabitants, who were all rich merchants, saw a formidable army before their walls, they detested the piracies of Dragut, which had drawn that war upon them, and they began to talk openly of treating with the Christians; but Rais Elfé, who was Dragut's nephew, and governor of the place, being a resolute soldier, threatened, that if they mentioned so much as a single word about capitulating, he would stab them all one after another, and afterwards set fire to the city; and, upbraiding them with their cowardice, he asked them in a softer tone, whether, in case of their surrendering themselves to the Christians, they could be so silly as to believe that their mortal enemies, when once become their masters, would leave them in the exercise of their religion, and the enjoyment of their estates; adding, that they ought to consider, that in this war

every thing that was dear to man lay at stake ; they having their lives, their liberties, their religion, their wives, and their children to defend. At the same time he, in order to encourage them, represented to them the strength of the place, the numerous artillery, the arms and ammunition that were in it ; telling them further, that he had 1700 foot and 600 horse under his command, all which his uncle had chosen from amongst his best troops, who, like himself, had taken a resolution to bury themselves in the ruins of the place, rather than surrender it to the Christians. The magistrates, intimidated rather by his menaces, than encouraged by his promises, prepared, though against their wills, to sustain a siege, which it was not in their power to prevent : But the populace, who were furious with zeal, and so much the more jealous of their religion, as they knew but very little of it, made no other answer to the governor's discourse than by venting imprecations against the Christians. They all strove to out-vie each other in their exhortations to die for the sake of their religion ; and prejudice and obstinacy supplied the place of resolution and courage.

THE governor, in order to confirm them in these sentiments, and to give them a proof that he was not afraid of the Christians, ordered his cavalry to fall out with three hundred arquebusiers, who advanced to a rising ground near adjoining, whence they fired upon the emperor's camp, with their muskets and some field pieces. Don Garcia, whose quarter lay near to it, marched immediately with part of his troops, in order to dislodge them from that post : the skirmish was warm and obstinate, as indeed generally happens in the first combats, by the success of which, men often judge before-hand of the fate of the whole enterprise. The governor, in order to sustain his men, sent out six hundred Moors, armed with muskets, to their succour, who made a furious discharge, which made a terrible havock among the Neapolitans. Although the viceroy of Sicily might not perhaps be sorry to see Don Garcia beaten and repulled, yet the emperor's service, and
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the interest of the common cause, made him urge the knights to advance to the succour of the Neapolitans ; upon which the bailiff de la Sangle, who commanded the battalion of Malta, marched out immediately, came up with the Moors, charged them sword in hand ; when those infidels, who were very unfit to stand their ground in battle, broke away in a moment. The infantry got back to the gates of the town, which were shut after them ; and the cavalry, dispersing themselves in the plain, as fast as their horses could gallop, threw themselves into a forest of olives, where they immediately disappeared.

THE cannon had begun with battering the *fausse-braye*, and the pannel of the wall which ran cross the slip of land before mentioned ; when the breach appearing to be practicable, they sent officers to reconnoitre it. These, at their return, declared, that behind the breach they had discovered deep intrenchments, which were well flanked, the bottom of which was stuck full of iron spikes ; for which reason they would infallibly lose all the troops they should send upon the attack : But the viceroy of Sicily, suspecting that fear might have a considerable share in this report, or at least that it was greatly exaggerated, prevailed upon them to come to a resolution of making an assault on the Friday following ; during which interval they redoubled the battery, in order to widen the breach. On Friday, two hours before day-break, the viceroy, who was for having all the honour of the enterprize to himself, notwithstanding the undisputed right which the knights had of being at the head of all attacks, advanced with his own troops to the foot of the wall.

THE Sicilians found the breach of the *fausse-braye* lined with enemies, who made a terrible fire, and killed a great number of the Christians. But the assailants, without the least fear, and perhaps without knowing all the danger, got to the top of the breach, when the bravest of them threw themselves desperately into the ditch, which was between the *fausse-braye* and

the fort : but they were all killed upon the spot, except one man only, whom the infidels spared, and took prisoner, purposely to get some light into the designs of the Christians. Other troops advanced to sustain this first body, but without meeting any better success: for they met every where with deep cuts and intrenchments lying one above another, from whence they were galled continually with cannon and musket-ball, that flew as thick as hail. The fire of the besieged demolished every thing that dared so much as to appear. This assault cost the generals the bravest of their soldiers, who, in order to prevent their losing any more, ordered a retreat to be sounded. The officers, as well as soldiers, disheartened at so dangerous an attack, threw themselves with precipitation into their trenches. This ill success struck a great damp on the ardor of the besiegers. If the discontented and dejected soldiery did not dare to speak of raising the siege, they nevertheless saw plain enough, that it would spin out to a great length. What made the calamity still greater was, their provisions began to fail ; and contagious distempers, contracted from fatigue and unwholesome food, attacked both officers and common soldiers.

THE bailiff de la Sangle, who reckoned hospitality to be his chief duty, erected a kind of hospital and infirmary in his tents, where he took great care to have the sick soldiers well looked after. The knights, in obedience to his orders, and in imitation of his example, attended on them in their turns ; so that now all the army admired their charity as much as they had done their courage. Dragut, who was ever attentive to the defence of a place that was of such importance to him, endeavoured to throw succours into it ; whereupon he landed eight hundred of his men ; and getting together three thousand Moors, all of them good arquebusiers, whom he had levied with his money, he lay snug with them in the forest of olives near Africa, to which place the Christians used to come for their fascines. His design was to have attacked the lines

on St. James's day, who being the patron of Spain, he, for that reason, hoped to find the soldiers either drunk or in disorder, and absent from their colours; and, in order to facilitate the getting in of the succours, he had given the governor notice to make a sally at the same time with all his garrison: but chance was the occasion of his ambuscade's being discovered, and brought on an engagement sooner than he intended; for the viceroy of Sicily, going into the forest with the bailiff de la Sangle, the governor of Goletta, and a great escort of knights, to order the cutting of fascines, Dragut, who lay concealed there, suffering them to come near him, rose up suddenly with his men, gave them a terrible fire, and fell in immediately upon the knights with their drawn sabres. The bailiff, notwithstanding his being surprised by the enemy, soon put his men in order, they being all old warriors, who knew very well how to fall into it of themselves, so that the battalion formed itself without any manner of difficulty; after which, there followed no small skirmish, but rather an obstinate engagement; and they fought for a long time together with various success. The Turks and Moors, by their frequent firing, killed a great number of Christians, among which the loss of Lewis Peres de Vargas governor of Goletta, and several of the bravest knights, were particularly regreted. The viceroy met with some difficulty in drawing his troops out of the forest, and recovering the plain: Dragut pursued him for some time, and made several charges; but finding still the same men, and a body of warriors, which, tho' small in number, did yet discover the most intrepid air, making head against him, he drew off his troops; and the Moors, knowing the country, threw themselves into the forest again, dispersed as usual, and did not rally, till such time as they came near Fagues, which was their rendezvous.

At the viceroy's return, the generals held a council of war, when by their orders and directions all the batteries continued firing with the same fury; besides which, they also raised some new ones: but the walls,

were

were so thick, and so well strengthened with ramparts, that the cannon did no more than graze upon them as it were ; and the breaches seemed so small, and were covered with intrenchments that were so well fortified, that they durst not hazard a second assault. They even began to fear that they should be obliged to raise the siege ; but Don Garcia, who was full of fire, always in action, whose thoughts were entirely bent on the success of the enterprise, formed a design which gained him the principal honour of it. He had learned from some deserters, that a part of the wall, which the sea washed, was weaker than the rest, and even neglected by the besieged, who did not think that great vessels could come near it, by reason of the banks of sand which the waves had drove on that side. Don Garcia, after having communicated his project to the admiral, and to the council, took the hulks of two old galleys that drew but little water, bound them fast one to another, and raised a battery upon them with parapets and port-holes. This machine was in a dark night towed by some skiffs and great boats, and brought over against the place where he intended to make a breach ; and he made the two galleys fast with four anchors, two of which were towards the land and the wall, and the other two towards the main sea.

THEY began at day-break to batter the pannel of the wall, that lay opposite to this platform ; and the cannon fired with so much fury, that a great part of the wall was beat down in a little time : a reasonable breach, in the opinion of the engineers, was soon made ; so that the generals resolved to try an assault. The knights of Malta, pursuant to custom, and the privilege of that illustrious body, had the post of honour assigned them, advanced first to the storm. The bailiff de la Sangle regulated their march, and the order of the attack : he ordered that the commander de Giou, supported by two files of the oldest knights, should carry the standard of the order at their head. The chevalier de Guimeran, and, in case he should be killed, the chevalier Copier was to sustain this first body
with

with all the young knights, and several volunteers of different nations, who had desired to fight under the banner of St. John. They put in their rear four companies of the Maltese soldiers, each of them commanded by officers of the order ; and the bailiff, with some old knights which he kept about him, was to close the march, in order to go afterwards to such places as should have the most need of his presence and assistance.

THE viceroy of Sicily with his own troops, and Don Garcia with those of Naples, in order to make a diversion, undertook respectively to make other attacks ; and these two generals, from an emulation of glory, and to have each of them the honour of first planting his standard on the top of the breach, promised their soldiers extraordinary rewards. The knights, who had no need of such self-interested motives, the moment a cannon-shot had given the signal for an attack, got into skiffs, and light shallops, which drew but little water ; notwithstanding which, most of these brave knights, seeing themselves stopped every moment by banks of sand, leaped into the sea with their swords drawn, and, marching up to the middle, and often up to the shoulders, in water, they at last got to the foot of the wall. The infidels appeared upon the highest part of the breach, and, in order to keep the Christians from approaching it, plied them at the same time with their great and small shot, with arrows, stones, fire-pots, and boiling oil, making a weapon of every thing that lay next to their hands. However the knights, not daunted at the number of their dead, surmounted all these obstacles, and forced their way to the top of the breach, by the side of a tower that joined to the corner of the wall. The commander de Giou immediately set up the standard of the order ; but he was the same moment struck backwards by a musket-ball : the standard was taken up by the commander Copier, who held it aloft during the whole battle, in the midst of all the fire, and the showers of cross-bow-shot. In the mean time the cannon which played upon them from
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the adjoining tower, and the fire of the musketeers from the intrenchment, made dreadful havock among the knights, who were unable either to advance forward themselves, or force the infidels to retire back. A great number of knights, and noble volunteers, who fought under their banner, and most of the Maltese soldiers, lost their lives on this occasion. The commander de Guimeran, who was at the head of the attack, was infinitely concerned to see his brother knights killed by his side, yet could not resolve with himself to abandon his post. When, happily for him, as he was turning his eyes on all sides, he discovered on the left hand, thro' the ruins, a little path that led to the body of the place; others pretend that was the ruins of a gallery of communication: be that as it will, the commander, at the head of his companions, makes an effort, repulses every thing that he meets with in his way, opens himself a passage, rushes into the gallery, which was all gone to ruin, except the beams and some joists, and, marching over them with as much resolution as he would have done over a stone bridge, he makes his way into the city.

At this noise the inhabitants ran up and down, and, alarmed by the cries of their wives and children, barricade themselves in the streets, get into the houses, from whence they make a terrible fire. Here the knights found themselves stopped again, and obliged in a manner to make as many sieges as there were intrenchments in every quarter. But whilst they were thus fighting, the Turks and Moors, who were opposing the Neapolitans and Sicilians, hearing that the Maltese were got within the place, abandoned the defence of it, to run to the succour of their houses and families. Upon which the Christians immediately spread themselves over the city, and made them sensible, that every man's maintaining himself in his respective post would have been the only way for them to have preserved their particular fortunes. The poor inhabitants, after having made a pretty weak resistance in some quarters, seeing the enemy master of the place, fly for their lives. Some
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make the best of their way to the plain and the forest; others get into boats. Some out of despair threw themselves headlong into the sea, and Dragut's soldiers; who were more afraid of his reproaches than of death itself, went to seek it on the point of the Christians swords, not one of them would call for quarter, so that they all made themselves be killed to a man. They met with a considerable booty in this place; for besides 7000 slaves, of every age and sex, the soldiers found the city filled with magazines of very rich merchandize, and plenty of gold, silver, and precious stones in the houses of the principal inhabitants.

BUT the richest booty was the place itself, which, at that time, was the strongest on the coast of Africa. The viceroy of Sicily, who had no longer occasion for the succours of the Neapolitans, openly claimed all the honour of taking it; put his son in it as governor, leaving, at the same time, a garrison consisting of six companies of foot. After which the breaches were carefully repaired, the ditches cleaned; and having purified and consecrated the principal mosque, they interred in it all the knights and principal officers who had been killed in the siege. The emperor having been afterwards obliged to abandon this place, their ashes were transported to Sicily in two distinct chests, which were deposited in the cathedral church of Montreal; and, by the viceroy's order, they erected a stately monument to their memory, on which the following epitaph was engraved.

Death has been able to put an end to the lives of those whose ashes rest under this marble; but the remembrance of their great valour shall never die. The faith of these heroes has given them a place in heaven, and their courage has filled the earth with their glory; so that the blood which flowed from their wounds has, instead of a transitory life, procured them two lives that are immortal.

DRAGUT,

DRAGUT, enraged at the loss of the town of Africa, of his treasures and his slaves which were lodged there, ascribed it chiefly to the knights of Malta; and accordingly made his complaints of it to the grand seignior: his agent at the porte represented both to that prince, and to the divan, that the emperor, by this conquest, had one of the principal keys of Africa in his power; that he was master of the fortress of Goletta, and of most of the places that depended on the kingdom of Tunis; that the knights of Malta, who were devoted to that prince, had fortified themselves in Tripoli; that there was reason to apprehend lest the Arabs, being great enemies to the Turks, should facilitate their passage over the deserts into Egypt; and that the knights, under pretence of delivering Jerusalem and Palestine from the dominion of the Ottomans, might penetrate into those countries, revive the antient spirit of the crusades, and bring into their party the forces of the Christian princes, who were formidable when united together.

SOME noble presents, the surest interpreter to obtain a hearing at the porte, which Dragut got to be distributed among the principal bashas, engaged them to represent to the grand seignior, that his highness was more concerned in the loss of Africa than Dragut; that the enterprise was a breach of the treaty made with the Christians, which continued still in force; that he could not avoid discovering his resentment upon that account; and that it was particularly necessary they should drive the knights, those declared and eternal enemies of the alcoran, out of all Africa, as he had done already out of Asia.

SOLYMAN, in that height of power to which his birth and conquests had raised him, was capable, with no great difficulty, of being blown up to indignation and resentment; nevertheless, as this monarch, contrary to the custom of most of his predecessors, valued himself mightily upon his religious observance of his treaties, he, before he began the war, sent, out of a sort of formality, a *chaoux* to the emperor, to demand in his name the restitu-

restitution of Sufa, Monester and Africa. Charles V. answered the envoy, that those places were dependences of the kingdom of Tunis, which held of the crown of Castile ; and that, independent from his rights of high sovereignty, his generals had done only in that point what all sovereigns of all religions ought to do, with regard to a corsair, who was odious both to God and man ; and that, as for himself, he was resolved, without thinking it any breach of the truce which he had made with his highness, to pursue that pirate into all places into which he should retire.

SOLYMAN, who was too powerful to be equitable, and who weighed his reasons only by the strength of his forces, was provoked at so resolute an answer ; and therefore resolved to have satisfaction for it by some illustrious enterprise. Dragut had orders sent him, to get together, in a body, all such corsairs as carried the Turkish flag, and to keep them in a readiness to join the Ottoman fleet, which the sultan was for employing in this war : and in order to take away from Charles V. all pretence of treating Dragut as a corsair, he sent to him, as to one of his officers, a commission, constituting him Sangiac of the isle of Santa Maura. The grand seignior's design was to begin the campaign with the siege of the places which Doria, and the emperor's other generals, had lately taken ; but Dragut took care to have represented to him, that the knights of Malta would infallibly traverse him in all those enterprises, and that their vessels would frequently intercept such convoys as should pass along the coast of Tripoli, or in the neighbourhood of Malta ; and that therefore it would be absolutely necessary for them to fall with fire and sword upon that island, and on Tripoli, and to employ all his forces for the extirpating of those knights, who, notwithstanding their being few in number, had never yet failed to multiply as it were whenever a war was carrying on against the Mussulmen.

THE grand seignior, who had never heard the knights mentioned at his court but as so many corsairs who ruined the commerce of his dominions, entered into

Dragut's measures : and, as a powerful fleet was necessary for the execution of it, orders were given out accordingly, and they began to work without intermission in all the ports of his empire, in order to build and fit out gallies and vessels of all sizes. The noise of so great an armament soon came to the ears of Charles V. he made no question but that Dragut was the cause of the war, and that he, for his own private interest, would be glad to draw down his master's arms, and extend his power in Africa : in order therefore to lay the storm, it was necessary that Dragut should be destroyed, or that they should get his person once more into their hands. Charles V. from an opinion that if the sultan should find himself deprived of so experienced a general, who had been used to those seas for so many years, he would then turn the effort of his arms to some other quarter, commanded Doria to go in search of him, to fight him at any rate, and omit nothing in order to rid him of so dangerous an enemy.

DORIA, pursuant to the emperor's orders, put to sea in the spring with two and twenty gallies, besides galiots and brigantines, and in the month of March arrived upon the coast of Africa. The Christian admiral, hearing that Dragut, whom he was seeking, had put into the haven or channel of the isle of Gelves or Gerba, made for that place ; and, in order to prevent his getting out, came to an anchor at the mouth of the channel, in a place called Bocca de Cantara. The corsair, surpris'd by the arrival of the Christian fleet, worked all night in raising a rampart of earth at the mouth of the channel, from whence he play'd with his artillery upon Doria's gallies, and oblig'd him to retire further off out of the reach of his cannon. But the Christian admiral, fully persuad'd that his prey could not escape him, immediately dispatch'd away some brigantines to Sicily, to Naples, and Genoa, in order to have a reinforcement of troops sent him from those places.

His design in sending for these troops was, that whilst he, with his fleet, should keep the corsair in sight as it were, and also block up the mouth of the channel, they

they by that means might have an opportunity of landing in the island, of burning Dragut's gallies, and of taking him prisoner. Dragut, who foresaw his design, and that he was going to be invested both by sea and land, formed, in order to extricate himself out of so great a danger, a project as bold as it was extraordinary, and such a one as is scarce to be paralleled in history.

For Dragut, in order to keep up the Christian admiral's confidence, and make him believe that he was resolved to defend the entrance of the channel to the last extremity, caused several intrenchments to be made along the shore on both sides of it, well provided with artillery and musketeers, which made a continual fire when any Christian vessel dared to come near them; but at the same time the cunning corsair, by the help of his soldiers and galley-slaves, and the assistance of the Moors who inhabited the island, levelled with great secrecy, a road, which began at the place where his gallies lay at anchor, on which he raised a frame composed of several pieces of timber, covering it over with planks that had been rubbed with grease, in order for the better sliding of any thing upon it. After which, they hoisted the gallies by the strength of capstanes, upon this frame or floor of timber, and, with great wooden rollers, forced them forward to a part of the island where the ground lay much lower, and where he had caused a new canal to be dug, on that side of the isle which lay opposite to the channel of Cantara, and by which he transported his gallies from one sea to the other. Doria knew nothing of all this, till his being made sensible of it by the loss of the admiral galley of Sicily, which Dragut, out of a kind of bravado, took almost in his sight. The corsair, after this action, sailed for Constantinople, in order to hasten by his presence the departure of the fleet, which was designed against Tripoli, and the other places belonging to the order of St. John. The Christian admiral, amazed, and in greater confusion than if he had lost a considerable battle, came back into the harbour of Genoa; and, in order to evade pursuing the corsair, made use of the

honourable pretence of his being obliged to command in person those gallies that were to carry Don Philip of Austria, the emperor's only son, from Italy into Spain ; so that he conducted the young prince to Barcelona, from whence he afterwards brought back Maximilian king of Bohemia, cousin german to Philip, and son to Ferdinand king of the Romans, whom his father had ordered to return home into Germany.

DORIA spent all the summer in making these voyages, whilst the viceroys of Naples and Sicily, being deprived of his succours, had joined their maritime forces ; notwithstanding which conjunction, they yet did not find themselves strong enough to keep the sea, and therefore had sent to Malta to desire the assistance of the gallies of the order. The grand master, for the same reason, and from the apprehensions they were under of being besieged, ought not to have suffered his gallies to stir out of his ports ; but the order at that time, and under the government of a Spanish grand master, was entirely devoted to the Austrian interest, and a request, or even a bare motion, coming either from the emperor or his generals, was considered by the grand master as an absolute order. However, there were some commanders in the council, who complained openly enough of the sending away the forces of the order, and the depriving them by that means of so necessary a succour, at the very moment they were going to be attacked by the infidels. But d Omedes, in order to keep the rest of the council from giving ear to such just reasons, declared his having certain advice that the fleet of the infidels was to be put to no other use that year, than * to assist the king of France against the emperor : upon which, on his bare word, and still more by his interest and authority, the gallies had orders to join immediately those of the emperor ; and the grand master, to pacify those who murmured at their being employed in this manner, gave orders to
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* De bello Melitenfi ad Carolum Cæsarem Nicolai Villegagnonis commentarius.

the chevalier Pied-de-Fer, general of the galleys, when he took leave of him, that in case 1653. he should find the fleet of the infidels were steering their course for Malta or Tripoli, he then should return with all possible diligence into the ports of the order. But for the executing of such orders, it would have been necessary for him to have had a safe-conduct from the sea and winds, as well as from the enemy's fleet.

The port of Messina was fixed upon as the general rendezvous. Scarce had the several squadrons, which composed the Christian fleet, put in there, when they received repeated advices from the Levant, that the grand seignior was at sea, and that that formidable armada steered towards the coasts of Naples and Sicily, but that there was no judging where the storm would fall. This fleet consisted of 112 royal galleys, two great galleasses, thirty flutes, and several brigantines and transport vessels, all under the command of Sinan basha, with Dragut, and another famous corsair called Sala-raïs for his lieutenants, together with 12000 men, most of them janizaries, on board, and a great number of pioneers, working tools, and machines proper for a siege. At the same time, the chevalier George de St. Jean, who was returned from scouring all the coasts of the Morea, into the harbour of Malta, reported, that the talk all over the Levant was about the siege of Tripoli, or that of Malta itself; and that which made the council still more uneasy, was, that the commander de Villegagnon, who arrived about that time from France into Sicily, wrote from Messina to the grand master and his particular friends, by which he informed them, that the grand seignior's armament was designed purely against the dominions of the order, and that he was set out from his own country purposely to bring them certain advice of it, and to discharge that duty which by his profession he owed to the order. As this knight made at that time a very considerable figure both in France, as well as in his order, it may

not perhaps be improper to give a more particular account of him.

BROTHER Nicholas Durande de Villegagnon was a Frenchman, born of an antient family in the province of Brie. He was one of the handsomest men of his age, had a mind adorned with every kind of curious and useful knowledge ; nor was he less distinguished by his valour, which commanded respect from the bravest captains his contemporaries. We have already taken notice of the advantageous manner in which he signalized himself at the siege of Algiers, and of the glory he there acquired in the fight of so many different nations as composed the army of Charles V. Nor had he less distinguished himself at sea, in the service of his prince, and in the post of vice-admiral of the coast of Bretagne. This gallant knight, at the first report of the grand seignior's preparations, and of Malta's being threatened with a siege, did not wait for a general citation ; but with king Henry the Second's leave, leaving the court, and by that means all his hopes, arrived in Sicily, and acquainted the viceroy with the news he was carrying to the grand master. Nor did he fail to represent to him, in very zealous terms, the few troops, and the small stock of ammunition there was at that time at Malta, Goza, and Tripoli ; pressing him moreover to send succours to those islands, as being feudatories of the crown of Sicily, and serving as a bulwark to that kingdom.

THE viceroy, imagining that the coasts of Naples and Sicily were more in danger of being attacked by the infidels than the places of the order, satisfied himself with saying, that he would omit nothing that might contribute to the defence of Malta, so far as was consistent with the interest of the island, of which he was governor. An answer given in such random and general terms, giving no satisfaction to Villegagnon, he went on board a brigantine, and arrived a few days after at Malta. At his landing, a crowd of knights came about him, and conducted him to the grand master ; when, after having paid his first compliments to him,

him, that prince assembled the council, had him called in, and asked him what they thought in France of the grand seignior's armament? The French commander replied, that it was the common opinion, that all the forces of the Ottoman empire were going to fall upon the territories of the order; that when he, at his coming away, was taking leave of the constable de Montmorency, first minister of the kingdom, that lord had commissioned him to acquaint them, in his name, that they would be immediately attacked; that the grand seignior, vexed to find a great number of knights in all the armies, both of the emperor and the Venetians; and incensed particularly at the share they had had in the taking of Africa, intended to drive them out of Tripoli;^a and the isles which they possessed; that he exhorted them not to suffer themselves to be surprised; that this advice was the result of the sentiments of that esteem and affection which he bore to an illustrious order, and which the grand master de l'Isle Adam, his uncle, had governed in the most perilous times, with the universal approbation of all the sovereigns of Christendom.

THIS news alarmed the council; so that they used the most pressing instances, in order to oblige the grand master to put the places belonging to the order in a state of defence; and all of them were unanimously of opinion, that he should immediately send succours to Tripoli, which was but poorly fortified, and whose garrison was composed of none but old and infirm knights, who had retired thither for the benefit of the air; that the little isle of Goza was not tenable, and that it was necessary to demolish the castle, for fear the Turks should establish themselves in a place that lay so near Malta; that they should transport the inhabitants of that island to Sicily, desire the viceroy to give them a retreat there, and to ask, by way of exchange, for some companies of foot to be sent to Tripoli.

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^a Id. Villegagnon, *ibid.*

THE grand master heard these different advices with a coldness next to insensibility ; when, after having expressed to Villegagnon how much he was obliged to the constable for the great concern he discovered for the order, he dismissed him ; and making the great crosses and pillars of the convent stay behind him, he said to them, with a sneer, “ Either this Frenchman is “ the constable’s bubble, or he has a mind to make us “ his.” But afterwards, affecting a more serious air, and which was more suitable to an affair of such importance, he told them, that they should never persuade him to believe, that Solyman had been at the expence of such an armament, with a view only of seizing upon Malta ; that so inconsiderable an object, and the conquest of a barren rock, would never answer, or make amends for the prodigious expence he had been at in fitting out so mighty a fleet ; but that in reality the grand seignior, who was one of the greatest politicians of his age, aimed at much higher designs ; that he was going, in concert with the king of France, to attack the kingdom of Naples ; that his fleet, which alarmed them so much, was expected in the port of Toulon ; that it was immediately to join that of France ; and that he likewise had certain advice of the king’s sending thither five mules loaded with money, for the pay of the infidels. That after all, it would be proper, before they should put themselves to expences, which would perhaps be thrown away, to wait for more positive accounts.

AN answer, in terms so full of coldness and indifference, raised the indignation of several members of the council : what Villegagnon had advanced with relation to the necessity they were under of fortifying Tripoli could never be thought an useless expence : but it was but too flagrantly known at Malta, that this prince, whose thoughts were entirely bent upon aggrandizing his family, reckoned all such money as lost, that did not turn to the profit of his nephews ; and that the weakest pretence, provided it was but useful in putting off any expence, how necessary soever it might

might be, appeared even in his eyes as a solid reason, and a certain advantage. Infomuch, that some commanders answered him in pretty warm terms, that it would not be prudent in the council, upon the doubtful testimony of some spies only, to continue in a state of indolence, at a time when the Ottoman fleet was drawing near, and the sight of so great a danger ; that it was necessary to issue out a general citation forthwith, to summon together all the knights, who were dispersed up and down in different parts of Christendom, to fortify all those weak places in the isle of Malta, which might any way facilitate the descent of the infidels, to demolish the castle of Goza, transport the inhabitants of that island into Sicily, endeavour to get succours from the viceroy ; and, above all things, recall the old knights from Tripoli, and fill up their places with a body of such as were younger, and more able to undergo the fatigues of a siege.

THE grand master, who was ever fond of money, told them, that he was not averse to the issuing out a citation, provided that they, till such time as a general chapter could meet, in order to provide for the expence that the arrival of such a great number of knights would occasion, would, in a full council, augment the responsions and taxes, which every commandery was obliged to pay. He added, that he could not give his consent to the abandoning of the castle of Goza, which was seated on the point of a rock, and which might serve for a retreat to the wives and children of the inhabitants of the island ; and that the people would fight with greater courage and bravery, whilst they had such dear pledges before their eyes ; and moreover, that he laid the utmost stress on the valour and experience of the chevalier d'Eff, who commanded there, in quality of governor. As to the exchange which they proposed to make of the garrison of Tripoli, he opposed it, under pretence that it was not prudent to weaken Malta, in order to fortify a place that lay so remote, and that the drawing some companies of foot thither from Sicily would be succours sufficient ; and lastly, that

that he would write immediately to the viceroy upon that account.

HOWEVER weak his reasons might be, yet all they could say had not strength enough to get the better of his obstinacy, or remove his prepossessions; and what was worse was, that his opinion, through the compliance of the Spanish and Italian commanders, prevailed in council. They likewise laid aside the design of a general citation, from a notion they entertained, that in case the Turks should have orders to attack the territories of the order, they would arrive before Malta, before the citation could have passed the sea; when, after making a few slight fortifications in all such places as they might make descents, the grand master continued in as strange and surprising an inactivity, as if he had taken his orders from the Turkish general, or had been in concert with him. However, the viceroy of Sicily, who knew of what consequence the preservation of Malta was to Sicily, did, at his request, send a recruit of two hundred Calabrians, which he had received from the kingdom of Naples, all of them either shepherds or mechanics, who had never bore arms; but they flattered themselves, that after their arrival at Tripoli, they, by being under the orders, and in imitation of the knights, would insensibly be formed to military discipline.

ACCORDINGLY they began to make preparations for the shipping of them off; but when they were upon the point of embarking, the fear of being pent up in a remote place, that was threatned with a siege, made their hearts sink in them; so that the greatest part of them absconded: they^a complained that the grand master was sending them to be knocked on the head, with no other view, than to spare the knights and his own soldiers; so that they could not prevail upon them to sail for Africa, till they had put twenty-five knights at their head, who were all young men, that had been put under an arrest, for an insurrection
which

^a Id. Villegagnon.

which they had made, and whom the grand master was not much concerned to part with.

THIS was all the succour they could obtain from the grand master for the city of Tripoli. The people of Goza were still more neglected; and, as if he had thought that battalions of armed men would spring out of the earth in their defence, they could not prevail upon him to send them either troops or gunners; and when the poor inhabitants of that little island sent their wives and children to Malta, in two barks for their greater security, the grand master, in order to excuse himself from providing for their subsistence, would not suffer them to land; nay, he went so far as to threaten to sink them, if they offered to come near the port. In short, all these women, with their little children, were forced to return to Goza, and d'Omedes apologized for so hard-hearted a procedure, by a refinement of policy, and the pretence above mentioned, viz. that the inhabitants, by having those dear pledges before their eyes, would fight with greater courage and resolution. A few days after, news came that the grand seignior's fleet had appeared off the coast of Sicily; that the Turks had made descents and great ravages in several places; that after attempting the siege of Catania in vain, they had sat down before Augusta; that the town and castle had held out but a few days; that the infidels had committed all manner of violence there; and that it was commonly reported, that they were preparing to sail directly for Malta.

1551.

July 13.

THIS disagreeable news made the council very uneasy, and alarmed all the inhabitants: but the grand master, in order to encourage them, cried out, "We are not the persons whom the Turks design to fall upon, and the reason of their taking the southern passage, which seems to have brought them near Malta, is only because it is the shortest way to go to Provence." And, in order to support his notion by the opinion of the most skilful pilots, he sent for some of the oldest before the council; and, they, either

ther out of complaisance, or because it was really so in fact, agreed, that if the Turks had really orders to sail to the coast of Provence, the southern passage was a shorter cut by 200 miles.

BUT at last this fatal blindness was removed; for the grand master, three days after saw, from the windows of his palace, the Ottoman fleet arrive, which, July 16. sailing on with a favourable wind, appeared in good order before the isle of Malta. Solymán's orders to his general were, that he should, as he passed, and according to the disposition in which he found Malta and Goza, endeavour to make himself master of those islands; but that if he found too much difficulty in the execution of that enterprize, he should keep only to that of Tripoli, the reducing of which, in the design he had of recovering Africa, seemed to him of the greatest importance. The grand seignior added, the knowledge he had of Dragut's experience, made him wish, that Sinan would undertake nothing of importance without first consulting him. The Turkish general, in obedience to his orders, presented himself at first before one of the ports of the island, called *Marfa Mulest*, which is divided from the great port only by a slip of land, or, properly speaking, a very high rock.

AT the approach of this formidable army a general terror seized the inhabitants of the island; every one strove to get out of the way, in order to avoid the fury of the Turks, and ran up and down in search of a place of refuge, either in the holes of the rocks, or in the fortified places. There were only two in all the island; one of which was situated below the castle of St. Angelo, commonly called the *bourg*, or town, and the ordinary residence of the convent at that time; and the other a good way up in the country, in the middle of the island, about six miles from the town, and the great port, and was called *the notable city*, or *the city of Malta*, after the name of the island, it being the capital, and, properly speaking, the only city in it at that time.

MOST of the inhabitants of the country, both men, women and children, carried off the most portable part of their household furniture, and, leading some cows and goats for the subsistence of their children, took refuge in these two places. But as there were not houses enough to lodge all this multitude, they were most of them obliged to stay in the market places and the streets; and, what added to their misfortune, was their being exposed all the dog-days to the heat of the sun, which rages with intolerable violence in that burning climate. The infection, and stink that exhaled from the excrements of these poor creatures, thus crowded together, would soon produce contagious distempers; and that which still added to their affliction and despair was the want of a well or fountain in either of those places, and there was but little water in the cisterns; so that if the Turks should unhappily resolve to lay close siege to these two places, they would be soon forced either to turn out all useless persons, and deliver them up to the cruelty of the Barbarians, or else to capitulate; two extremes which the order, by its charity and valour, was equally incapable of submitting to.

THE knights, through the grand master's obstinacy, were in want of every thing but courage; notwithstanding which, they were not wanting in the duty they owed to themselves, and to the order; never had they on any former occasion discovered greater resolution than they did at this time. The same valour, which had shone with such distinguished lustre in those antient knights, to whom the order owed its military institution and first conquests, appeared in them; so that one would have thought that they were still the same men under other names. The chevalier Upton, an English commander, and one of the bravest knights of the order, put himself at the head of thirty others, and four hundred inhabitants of the island, who were all on horseback. They marched down boldly to the sea shore, on the side of the town, in order to oppose the Turks in their landing. The commander de Gui-

meran, a Spaniard, sallied out at the same time on another side with a hundred knights on foot, and three hundred arquebusiers, and passed over in skiffs from the town to mount Sceberras, the rock which parted the two great ports; he there lay snug, extended on the ground, in order to observe the designs and countenance of the infidels: He had not been long here, when he saw the Turkish general appear in his admiral galley, with some others after him, standing in to the great port, in order to reconnoitre the most proper place for his landing; and as the side of the town was the most exposed to the artillery of the castle of St. Angelo, he, in order to keep off from it, drew up on the side of mount Sceberras; but as he drew near that rock, the commander de Guimeran, seeing him within arquebuss shot, made such a furious discharge, which was levelled particularly at his own galley, that all the crew was put in disorder, and let their oars drop. The surprise which had seized the Turkish general soon gave way to his resentment; and his pride being wounded in its most tender part, to see himself attacked first by men whom he thought to surprise, and who were so inferior to him in strength, he, in revenge, vowed their destruction; upon which he made immediately to the shore, put into a place where he thought he might easily make a descent, landed a body of his men, and advanced in order to meet with the knights, and fight them; but the commander de Guimeran, being satisfied with his advantage, and finding himself far inferior in troops, had, after making his discharge, embarked his soldiers, and brought them back safe into the town, without losing so much as one man.

SINAN, having fought for them to no purpose, went, together with his principal officers, to the highest part of mount Sceberras; from whence taking a view of the castle of St. Angelo, its situation on the point of a rock, and the bulwarks with which it was fortified, “ Is that the castle, says he in a passion to Dragut,
 “ which thou told’st the grand seignior might so easily be taken; certainly, continued the basha, the
 “ eagle

“ eagle could never have chose the point of a steeper
“ rock for her airy.” When an old corsair, brother
to Airadin above mentioned, who had formerly been
lord of Tachora, either from an aversion to Dragut, or
through complaisance for his general, cried out to Si-
nan, “ Do you see, says he to him, that bulwark which
“ runs out towards the sea, upon which the knights
“ have planted the great standard of the order ? You
“ must know Sir, that when I was a slave at Malta, I
“ carried the great stones with which it was built up-
“ on my shoulders, and before you can demolish that
“ work, winter will come on ; or, what is more to
“ be feared, some strong succour will come to the be-
“ sieged.”

DRAGUT was all fire on this occasion ; and, as he
himself had never known what danger meant, he was
prodigiously vexed to find so much coldness and diffi-
dence in his general ; and, in order to induce him to
lay siege to the town immediately, he represented to
him, that all the strength of the place lay in the castle
of St. Angelo, and that if he could but once beat that
castle down with his artillery, he would catch, as it
were, the grand master, and all the chiefs of the order,
in a net at once, who, he said, had imprudently shut
themselves up in so weak a place.

BUT Sinan was of a different opinion ; for he knew
very well, that, in order to take a place which was
defended by the knights, it was not enough to demo-
lish the fortifications, but that he must kill all those
warriors to the last man, before he could be able to
force his way into it ; so that to prevent his engag-
ing unadvisedly in such an enterprize, he called a coun-
cil of war. Of all Solymans's generals, there was not
any one, who was so timorous in appearance, when
any affair was to be deliberated, as he was, though
ever intrepid in action ; but he never engaged in any,
till such time as he had considered which were the sur-
est methods to beat the enemy ; and that he had ta-
ken all possible precautions not to be vanquished him-
self. So, after having laid before the council the or-

ders he had from the grand seignior, he represented at the same time, that if he should engage in the siege of the town and the castle of St. Angelo, he was afraid that that enterprize would take up a great deal of time, and prevent his passing into Africa, where he was principally directed by his instructions to go; and moreover he believed that they, in order to conform to the grand seignior's intentions, and to revenge themselves on those Christian corsairs, had nothing more to do than only to ravage the island, and carry off as many of its inhabitants as they could into slavery.

THE complaisance which subaltern officers generally have for the sentiments of their general made those of Sinan be approved. But Dragut, a sworn enemy of the knights, and impatient to attack them, notwithstanding the result of the council of war, insisted strongly, that in case they did not think fit to attack the castle of St. Angelo, and the town, they should at least lay siege to the capital, where most of the inhabitants of the island had, as he said, shut themselves up with their riches; and which, says he, we shall find without any manner of fortification, and without any other garrison but a company of miserable peasants, fellows that always tremble, even behind the strongest bastions. As the basha, at his taking leave of the grand seignior, had received orders not to undertake any thing considerable without Dragut's advice, he thought himself obliged, on this occasion, to give in to his opinion: and therefore, in order not to draw upon himself any complaints, or ill offices from him at the porte, he ordered his troops and artillery to be put ashore. The whole army was now advancing up into the country, and arrived, without any obstacle, before *the notable city*. The only difficulty they met with was from the cannon, which they were at infinite pains to bring thither, by reason of the great number of rocks with which the whole island abounded: all their carriages were broke over and over, in so much that they were at last forced to have them drawn
by

by slaves, who employed several days about it, before they could be able to raise their batteries before the place, which is called *Malta*, from the general name of the island. 'Tis pretended, that it was founded by the Carthaginians, when the Romans, after having destroyed Carthage, that haughty rival of Rome, drove the Africans afterwards out of this isle; and that the Mahometan Arabs seized on it in their turn, and gave it the name of *Medina*, in memory of the city of the same name, situated in Arabia Petrea, which Mahomet had called *Medina-Labi*, i. e. *the prophet's city*. The bailiff George Adorne, of an illustrious family in Genoa, was at that time governor of the city of Malta, in which above 13,000 persons of both sexes had taken refuge; so that there was abundance of people in it, though but few soldiers, at the same time. The Turks, upon their entering the island, spread themselves up and down in all its villages and hamlets, and destroyed all before them with fire and sword. They set the houses on fire, so that nothing was to be seen, wherever one turned one's eyes, for the country was all over of a smoke, occasioned by the burning of the houses and the corn, which they had not had time to get in. The army was soon got before the place, when they opened the trenches, and began to raise batteries: but all this did not pass without opposition from the governor, who made several sallies, not so much from any hopes he had of ruining the enemy's works, as to shew them, by his intrepidity and resolution, that he was determined to make a courageous defence.

BUT he was in want of regular troops, and especially of a sufficient number of knights to command and lead on the peasants and inhabitants of the country, who had taken refuge in the place; and the greatest part of these peasants, at the enemies approach, looking on themselves as the prey of the infidels, repented their having shut themselves up in the town; and a great many of them, fancying they should be safer in any other place than where they were, got themselves let down with ropes into the ditch, and, flat-

tered with the hopes of escaping the enemy, met either present death or slavery in their way. The governor, enraged to see himself deserted in this manner, exhorts, entreats, threatens such as were left behind, and, by his own example and resolution, prevails so far as to have some of them formed into companies, heading them with some knights, his friends, who had generously shut themselves up along with him; but as he saw plainly that he should want a greater number, and especially one who had been in sieges, and who was skilled in the art of attacking and defending places, he found means to send a soldier out of town in the night, to give the grand master an account of the state of the siege, and to desire him to send him a recruit of knights, and particularly Villegagnon, whose valour and experience qualified him to share with him in the command and defence of the place.

THE grand master, as well for his own safety as for that of the town, did not care to part with any of those who defended him, and thereby lessen their number; so that all the answer he gave the messenger was, that among such a great number of townsmen and peasants as had retired into the town, it was impossible but that some of them must be capable of commanding over the rest; that the interest of their country, and the defence of their lives and liberties, were motives strong enough to make them all fight it out to the last, and that on such occasions, experience and capacity in the common officers and soldiers was less wanting than vigour and courage. The messenger, vexed to see himself sent back to his master without any succours, and that all he would be able to carry him back would be such an harsh answer, asked him, pursuant to his orders, to send him at least the chevalier de Villegagnon. The grand master, who had, ever since his arrival at Malta, found him more sincere than he could have wished, was glad to get rid of him on so honourable a pretence; upon which he sent for him immediately; and, being come, he told him, with a gracious and obliging air, that he had ever entertained the
highest

highest notions of his valour and capacity in the arts of war ; that the order in this juncture was requiring new proofs of it from him ; that he was desired to go and throw himself into the place which was besieged ; that the great number of townsmen and peasants, which were in it, was indeed a sufficient security against all the attacks of the Turks ; but that those men, who would easily be made good soldiers, wanted a leader to supply the governor's stead in those places, where he himself could not be present. Villegagnon, with a modesty that is inseparable from true valour, made him this plain and hearty answer, That at his receiving the habit and the cross of the order, he had at the same time dedicated his life to its service ; that it was no longer at his own, but at the disposal of his superiors, and that he was ready to go whenever he should order him. He added, that he desired him not to take it ill, if he represented to him, that there was no great stress to be laid upon the crowd of peasants which were shut up in the city, they being always averse to danger, and not to be wrought upon by any sense of shame for shrinking from it ; that in the present juncture the governor wanted a set of intrepid men, who would fight from motives of religion, and principles of honour ; and that, to tell them his sentiments plainly, if he were desirous of saving the place, he must throw at least an hundred knights into it.

THE grand master replied, that it had been resolved in council to reserve all the knights for the sole defence of the town and castle of St. Angelo ; that however to prevent his going away alone, he would prevail with the council to let him take six other knights along with him ; which in a word, was all the succour they could spare him. Villegagnon begged him to consider what succour could, in an assault, be expected from only six knights, who, upon the approach of the enemy, and the thunder of the artillery, would soon be abandoned by the peasants ; that, to tell him the plain truth, these six knights would be only sent to be
knocked

knocked on the head, and they would be overwhelmed in a moment by a multitude of enemies, without having it in their power, even by the loss of their lives, to acquire any honour, which is only to be gained in an obstinate defence. The grand master, tired with the solidity of his remonstrances, told him roughly, that he expected courage and obedience, and not arguments, in a knight; and that if he was afraid of venturing, he would find a great many, who would think themselves highly honoured by such a commission. Villegagnon, touched in his most tender part at an answer which seemed to reflect upon his honour, cried out, "Sir, I'll give a proof that fear never made me decline danger:" upon which he set out the same instant with six French knights, his friends; and, in order to make the greater expedition, and to get there before day, they not having saddles, got upon mares that were feeding in the castle-ditch, came near to the town that was besieging, crept in the dark up to the very wall; and, making the signals which had been agreed on, they, by the help of ropes got all seven, together with their guide into the place, without being perceived by the enemy.

At the report, which in the morning was spread all over the city, of the arrival of this little succour, all the people, possessed with an extraordinary opinion of the conduct and bravery of the chevalier de Villegagnon, discovered the utmost demonstrations of joy. The old men, women, and children, never ceased to extol, as indeed it really deserved, the noble resolution he and his companions had taken of throwing themselves into the place. The inhabitants solemnized his entry with volleys of their small arms, insonmuch that one would have thought that single person had supplied them with troops, arms, and provisions: The commander, to keep up their chearfulness, told them, that he should be followed by a considerable body of knights, and that he was come before, only to consult with the governor on the most proper means for the bringing that succour into the place; but when he was in pri-

vate with the bailiff, he told him the whole truth of the affair, and what disposition the grand master was in; he frankly owned to him, that he was not to depend upon any other succour but what his own valour would bring him; that he was come to die with him, but that they must, by a brave resistance at least, make their loss renowned in the order, as well as fatal to the enemy.

THE bailiff, considering that the walls of the town could not long resist against the batteries of the Turks, made, by Villegagnon's advice, large and deep intrenchments within, which he fortified with planks and epaulements, or shouldering pieces well provided with artillery and musketeers. Villegagnon had the inspection of the work; the knights, who came with him, laid their hand to it; and all the people in general, as well women as men, animated by their example, and their discourses, laboured at it with great eagerness: and all thought themselves out of danger, since they had Villegagnon among them.

THE basha, at the noise of the volleys, and the shouts which the inhabitants set up at his arrival, began to suspect that some succour had got into the place. The mares likewise, which the commander had left when he got into the town, and which the Turks found the next morning, gave him no longer room to doubt of it; but such weak succours could never have put a stop to his continuing the siege, had not a letter that the Turks had intercepted in a Sicilian bark, which they took as it was attempting to get into one of the ports of Malta, given Sinan the utmost uneasiness.

THIS letter was written by the receiver of the order, who resided at Messina, and was directed to the grand master, by which he told him, that he had sent that bark purposely to give him advice, that Andrew Doria the emperor's admiral, and the terror of the infidels, was returned from Spain, and actually arrived in the harbour of Messina; that he had dispatched expresses and brigantines with the utmost expedition to

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all the ports of that island, as well as to Naples and Genoa, with orders for all the galleys and ships that were in a condition to put to sea, together with the troops necessary to man them, to repair immediately to him; and that he would set out immediately, in order to fight the enemy, and oblige them to raise the siege.

THIS advice was merely feigned, and a stratagem of the receiver, who employed this artifice with no other view but to make the basha uneasy; and his design succeeded to his wish. Sinan was alarmed at the news; and notwithstanding that all advice which comes from an enemy might justly be suspected, he yet thought at the same time that it was not to be neglected: upon which he called a council of war; and, after having caused the receiver's letter to be read before them, he represented to them, that in case Doria should come to attack his fleet at that juncture, that he would not be able to continue the siege, without leaving it unprovided of the troops which he had landed, nor could he yet send them back to defend the ships, without weakening the land army considerably, and exposing himself to be defeated by the garrison of the city, which, in concert with the body of knights who were in the town, might probably attack his lines at the same time; that in case he, by the sudden arrival of the Christian fleet, should be obliged to re-embark in a hurry, he, by a precipitate retreat, and especially in a country full of rocks, would run the hazard of being forced to leave his cannon behind him. He added further, that he indeed had had leave to attempt the siege of Malta, and that of the town and castle of St. Angelo in his way; but that, preferably to all this, his express orders were to besiege Tripoli; that he was afraid lest the month of September should become before he should have finished his enterprize of the city of Malta; that they were very sensible there was no keeping the sea along the coast of Africa at that season of the year; and finally, that he would not perhaps be in a
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condition to lay siege to Tripoli, after having had the mortification of miscarrying in that of Malta.

THE council, after having examined his reasons, and carefully weighed the different resolutions that might be taken, agreed that the general, without losing more time in the siege of Malta, ought to bend all his endeavours to that of Tripoli only ; that he would infallibly carry a place which was so poorly fortified ; or that at least, by acting pursuant to his orders, he, by that means, would prevent any reproaches from the grand seignior, a prince whose anger was ever formidable. The Turks, in consequence of this result, raised the siege, and re-imbarked ; but as a thirst of plunder is the prevailing passion of those Barbarians, the basha, before his sailing for Tripoli, could not refuse the giving of his leave to ravage the isle of Goza which belonged to the order.

THIS little island, called by the inhabitants Gaudisch, is situated four miles from Malta to the west, or rather west-north-west, being about twenty four miles in circumference, and about three broad, and is almost surrounded with rocks and shelves ; there were at that time about 7000 inhabitants in it, and a castle without fortifications, seated upon an hill, which commanded a town that lay at the foot of it.

THOUGH some commanders had been of opinion, that it would be proper to demolish this little castle, and transport all the inhabitants of the island to Sicily, nevertheless the grand master, as has been already observed, differed from them in it, and had brought over the council to his opinion by his interest and authority, rather than by his arguments ; but they were now sensible of their invalidity by woful experience ; for the Turkish general having in vain summoned the governor to surrender, he battered it with his artillery. The inhabitants, thro' the fear they were under of being made slaves by the infidels, offered the governor to defend the breach ; but that knight, whose name was Galatian de Sessa, and whose courage the grand master boasted so much of, instead of improving this
brave

brave disposition, and of putting himself at their head, hid himself in his apartment, despairing to hold out the place. This cowardly conduct, the like of which had never been known in the order, threw the inhabitants into a general consternation ; there was only a brave English cannoneer in the place, who, levelling his cannon, killed several Turks, and hindered the rest from advancing up to the wall.

BUT the gallant Englishman being killed by a cannon-ball from the Turkish batteries, not a man would take his post. The governor, in order to get a capitulation for his own security, continued in his usual indolence ; but being as great a bragadocio as he was a coward, he sent to the basha to demand honourable conditions, which are never granted but to those only who make a brave defence. A monk went in his name to offer Sinan to surrender the place, provided that general would bind himself by treaty to preserve his life, his liberty and effects, and those of all the inhabitants. But the Turkish general rejected the proposal with disdain, and told the envoy, that if the governor did not quit the place that very moment, he would hang him up at the gate. The monk returning to the castle with this dismal news, the governor sent him back again, to demand his liberty at least, as well as that of two hundred of the principal inhabitants, whom he himself should name ; but the basha stinted the number to forty, and at the same time threatened the negotiator to hang him up, if he ever presumed to return to him again ; upon which, the governor seized with a panic fear, commanded the gates to be opened to the enemy, which was the only order he had given ever since the Turks had entered the island. The infidels threw themselves immediately into the place, in order to plunder it. The governor's lodgings were the first place that fell a sacrifice to their greediness ; and after having carried a'l his goods and furniture out of it, they, to shew how much they despised a cowardly commander, obliged him to carry part of them upon his shoulders to their ships ; after which they stripped his Cloaths off, and chained him down like a galley-slave. In vain did he
plead

plead the general's promise, and idly complain of their having broke the capitulation by treating him so ill. Sinan, to elude the sense of the treaty, and ridicule him at the same time, gave forty poor infirm old men, the most aged in all the island, their liberty; pretending, that as he had been engaged to give forty of the principal of the island their liberty, the oldest ought to be looked upon as the principal. By virtue of this forced interpretation, he kept the governor in slavery, besides 6300 persons of all ages and sexes, whom he put on board his fleet.

AMONG these poor inhabitants * there happened to be a Sicilian, who had been settled for many years at Goza, who, preferring death to slavery, delivered himself, and all his family, by the instigations of a bloody compassion, from the hardships and shame that attend upon slavery, after a very tragical manner. This Sicilian, transported with rage and jealousy, stabbed his wife and two young daughters, whom he had had by her; and, resolving not to survive them, he takes up a fusée and a cross-bow, with which he killed two Turks; and afterwards throwing himself sword in hand into the midst of a crowd of enemies, he, after having wounded several of them, was cut to pieces, and met with the death he so eagerly sought after.

THE inhabitants of Malta were greatly affected with the news which came of the unhappy fate of the people of Goza; they all unanimously expressed their abhorrence of the governor's cowardice; and several knights, the French in particular, from a national antipathy, demanded openly, that they should proceed against him: but, as the grand master was his protector, he eluded the proposal, under pretence, that as that knight was in the hands of the infidels, they could not judge him without first hearing him; and, in order to conceal from all Christendom the scandal that might be thrown upon the whole order for the governor's cowardice, he engaged most of the knights, who were

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either

* See the first book of the relation de N. Nicolai, c. 15, edit. 1568,

either his own countrymen, or in his confidence, to write to their respective countries, by which they should declare, that he had signalized himself by a noble defence; that so long as he was living, the people of Goza, in obedience to his orders, and in imitation of his example, had always repulsed the attacks of the infidels with great valour; but that this brave governor having been killed with a cannon-ball, the people, by losing their leader, had lost their courage at the same time, and that the principal inhabitants, in order to save the lives and honour of their wives and children, had thought themselves obliged to capitulate, though Sinan, out of a perfidiousness too often found in those Barbarians, had afterwards openly violated the capitulation.

THIS fiction passed for a long time as an undoubted matter of fact all over Europe; and the truth of it was not known, till many years after that unhappy accident had happened. That knight having by dint of money found means to get out of slavery, had not only the impudence to appear again at Malta, but managed his intrigues so artfully, that he got himself acquitted, by the council, of the accusation which had been brought against him for cowardice; and that either because the lords, who composed it, thought he had been sufficiently punished by the hardships which he had endured during his slavery; or else because time had in a great measure worn off the indignation which they had conceived at his cowardly behaviour.

THE basha, after having ravaged the island, demolished the castle, and left terrible marks of his fury in every place, returned again on board; but instead of sailing towards Provence, as the grand master was always for making every body believe he would do, that general steered directly for Tripoli. The grand master was in no small confusion when he heard the news of it; and in order to repair the fault which his obstinacy, perhaps his avarice, had made him commit, he allied himself to Gabriel d'Aramon, ambassador of Henry II. of France at the porte, and who was well
known

known to Sinan basha That minister had come ashore at Malta, in his way from Constantinople about the latter end of the foregoing year, when he returned from thence into France; and the king his master sending him back to the Levant, he passed by Malta, when, in some intercourse which he had there he assured the grand master, and the convent, of that prince's good will towards them. Sinan had left the isle of Goza some days before; and the French minister, in a conversation which he had with the grand master, expressed his concern for his not having arrived sooner at Malta, as his offices with the basha might not perhaps have been unserviceable to the order^a. "You are not come too late now, replied the grand master, and, provided the affairs you are commissioned with will but allow you to go to Tripoli, we shall be greatly happy if, by the deference which the ministers of the porte pay to the king your master's recommendation, you can but prevail so far as to divert Sinan from laying siege to that place: and therefore, added d'Omedes, I beseech you, in the name of Christ Jesus, and in the name of the king your master, who glories in the title of the most Christian king, to use all your endeavours to effect it^b."

WHAT haste soever d'Aramon was in to continue his voyage, he yet thought there were some occasions in which a minister is allowed to guess at his master's intentions; and, knowing the great affection his king bore to the order, and in order not to lose a moment's time, he went on board a light brigantine, which the grand master furnished him, sailed away for Tripoli, and ordered the galleys that had brought him to Malta to come and join him before the port of that place.

THE basha had put in at Tachora, which is but four leagues from Tripoli, in order to get intelligence, where he had been received by the Aga Morat, who had made himself lord of that district: he was a Turkish

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officer,

^a Memoires du chevalier de Villegagnon, adressez a l'empereur Charles V.

^b N. Nicolai, l. I. c. 15.

officer, and had succeeded Airadin, of whom mention has been already made, in that little government. The arrival of the Ottoman fleet, as well as of Dragut, for which he had solicited at the porte, gave him a sensible pleasure, which he discovered to Solyman's general by the magnificent reception he gave him ; and particularly by a body of cavalry well accoutered, with which he presented him, in order for their serving at the siege of Tripoli. Sinan, after having repok'd himself for some days, dispatched a Moor to that city on horseback, who carried a white flag like an herald. The Moor advancing to the side of the ditch of the place, planted a cane there, with a paper fastened at the end of it, without any direction who it was for, and cried, that he would return the next day for an answer.

GASPARD DE VALIER, of the language of Auvergne, and marshal of the order, commanded at that time in the place. He was an old knight, who had passed through the prime dignities and posts of the order, a man universally esteemed for his valour, and one who was even looked upon as a person highly deserving of the grand mastership, when that dignity should become vacant ; but, for that very reason, not over agreeable to the grand master; he being like most other princes, who do not always behold their successors with a favourable eye. This might, perhaps, have been the motive which had engaged him to send him out of the way, under the honourable pretence of sending him to command in Tripoli : not to mention that the marshal was become odious to him, for the liberty which he had taken of differing from him in opinion in council, and of opposing his sentiments without any great scruple. The governor sent to fetch the paper which the Moor had set up, and, upon opening it, found that it was a cartel, or defiance, containing these words :
 “ Surrender yourselves to the mercy of the grand seignior, who has ordered me to reduce this place under his obedience : I will allow you the liberty of
 “ retiring wheresoever you shall think fit with your ef-
 “ fects,

“fects, but in case of your refusal, I will put you to
“the sword.

Signed SINAN BASHA.

THE marshal, with the concurrence of the council, had another paper fixed in the same place, in which, by way of answer, he wrote the following words with his own hand; “The government of Tripoli has been
“entrusted to me by my order: I cannot surrender
“it up to any one but to him whom the grand
“master, and the council of the order, shall nominate;
“and I will defend it against all others to the last drop
“of my blood.”

Signed, THE MARSHAL GASPARD DE VALIER.

THE Moor returning the next day, took this paper and carried it to the batha; who, by such a resolute answer, saw plainly, that there was no reducing of Tripoli but by force of arms: whereupon he advanced immediately in good order with his fleet, landed his troops and artillery, reconnoitred the place, and prepared to lay siege to it. All the garrison at that time in Tripoli consisted only in the recruit of two hundred men, which were come from Calabria, a company of raw fellows that had never seen fire, and about two hundred Moors, the allies of the order, who, though of the Mahometan religion, did yet, out of aversion to the Turks, do good service to the Christians. Tripoli, as has been already observed, was scarce tenable, and especially against a strong army, provided with a large train of artillery; and the grand masters had several times intreated the emperor to take it back into his own hands, or else cause it to be fortified, and put in a condition of defence: but Charles V. in order to save that expence, had always answered, that he had given the order the fiefdom of Tripoli, Malta, and Goza, by one and the same deed; and that the knights were equally obliged to defend those three places, or restore them all to him; and that he would not take Tripoli back, unless they would give him up

the islands of Malta and Goza at the same time. That prince, who was as self-interested as politic, had only given them this answer, because he was very sensible that the knights, having no place to retire to but Malta, would, in order to maintain themselves there, be obliged to stay at Tripoli; and this indeed had been the sole motive of their keeping so weak a place as Tripoli, which the narrow circumstances of the order had not allowed them to fortify. And indeed the basha going to reconnoitre the place himself, bragged to some officers who attended him, as he was returning from thence, that it would cost him but one bold stroke, and he would carry it by a *scalado*: but he judged otherwise of the castle, which appeared to be well fortified with bulwarks, and he resolved to attack the place on that side.

THEY had not yet opened the trenches, when d'Aramon, the French ambassador above-mentioned, arrived on board the brigantine of the order, who, as he drew near the fleet, saluted the grand seignior's flag; and because he put out French colours, he was answered by all the artillery of the ships. He landed afterwards; when knowing that it is almost impossible to succeed in any negotiations with the ministers of the porte without presents, he sent very magnificent ones to the basha, in order to obtain a favourable audience from him. No sooner was it granted, but he went to his quarters, and into his tent; when he represented to him, that the king his master had a particular regard and affection for the order of Malta, and that as that society was composed of the most illustrious nobility of Christendom, part of which were born his subjects, he would take it as a signal favour if he turned the grand seignior's arms another way; and that his master, who was the most generous prince living, would not fail to acknowledge his obligations to him upon that account, by presents suitable to the dignity and power of so great a king. The basha, who had contracted a kind of friendship with the ambassador during his residence at the porte, opened his mind to him. He shewed him
his

his orders, signed with the grand seignior's own hand, by which that prince had expressly enjoined him to drive the Christians out of Tripoli: then the basha, directing his discourse to the embassador, said further, that he should lose his head if he did not observe his orders.

D'ARAMON, seeing that what he asked was not in his power to grant, was for taking leave of him, in the intention of making all possible haste to Constantinople, in order to see whether he might be able to prevail so far with the grand seignior, as to make him send new orders to his general: but Sinan, who saw through his design, foreseeing that he, by such a change of orders, would be deprived of the glory which he flattered himself he should gain by this conquest, gave him to understand, that he could not let him go away before the siege was ended; so without having any regard to the law of nations, which he broke in so notorious a manner, he ordered all the rigging of the brigantine which had brought him, as well as the two gallies which were come to join him, to be taken out; but if we except this injustice, he treated him with all the respect which was due to his character.

IN the mean time, the trenches were opened, the cannon was planted upon batteries; and, in order to hinder the knights from repairing what it beat down, the basha had distributed all his artillery into three several batteries, each of twelve pieces of different sizes, which fired one after another continually; so that whilst they were again charging the battery which had just fired, they at the same time fired another, by which means this kind of thunder roared on without intermission. Happily for the besieged, these batteries were pointed against the bulwark of St. James, the place that was best fortified in all the castle, and terraced within, so that the ball only made a hole, and sunk down in the terrass. The Turks had now employed several days to no purpose in this attack, when a deserter, born at Cavaillon in Provence, gave the basha notice that it would be proper for him to change his batteries.

batteries. This villain had been settled a long time in Tripoli ; his religion was, in some measure, a pledge of his fidelity ; but, having been seduced by a criminal commerce with some Moorish women, he had secretly renounced the faith, embraced Mahometanism, and, being as false to the order as he had been to God, he stayed at Tripoli for no other reason than to serve as a spy for the aga Morat, the lord of Tachora above mentioned. 'Twas by his means that he got access to the basha, and that he shewed him, that if he was desirous of succeeding in his enterprise, he must turn his batteries against the bulwark of St. Barbe, the stones of which were, as he said, loosened by the mouldering away of the mortar, which time had consumed.

THE renegado's advice being followed, the wall began to tumble a few days after ; in vain did the marshal endeavour to supply the want of that defence by intrenchments, which he marked out behind the breach, and within the town, for the continual fire of the artillery, which played day and night without ceasing upon that very place, killed all the slaves whom they employed in that work. Such as were left obstinately refused to supply their places, and, tho' they beat them severely, they nevertheless would lie down, and suffer themselves to be bastinado'd unmercifully, rather than rise and go to a place where they expected immediate death.

THIS fright, which began by the slaves, infected afterwards the Calabrian soldiers, who were full as great cowards. The greatest part of those peasants had been put in a little fort situated at the entrance of the port, called the Chatelet, which was commanded by a military serving brother, des Roches by name. This officer, who was very attentive to every thing that passed in his fort, observing the air and discourse of those soldiers, found it attended with a surly and brutal pride, which made him suspect that some dangerous design was hatching. Upon his examining diligently into the matter, he found that these Calabrians, who had not been used to the noise of cannon, and

were

were afraid of being buried under the ruins of the fort, had agreed to seize upon a brigantine which lay in the port, and to make their escape into Sicily. These, in order to hinder the governor from either stopping or pursuing them, had resolved, before they should go on board, to leave a match of a proper length near the magazine of powder, in order to let fire to it after their departure, and thereby blow up the little castle. The officer considering that it would be as dangerous to let them know that he was informed of their plot, as it would be to neglect it, resolved to give private notice of it to the marshal; in consequence of which, he took care to draw them all out of the fort one after another, upon various pretences; and, to prevent all future caballing, they were dispersed up and down in different places, and among other companies who were thought to be more faithful. But this change of place did not produce any alteration in the ill designs of these cowards, and served only as it were to enlarge the scene of the conspiracy; every one of these wretches infected the other soldiers with the poison of their rebellion; nor did the inhabitants, who were upon guard with them, escape the taint. 'Tis pretended that this sedition was privately fomented by some Spanish knights, who were enemies to the governor. 'Twas now a kind of general conspiracy; the Calabrians abandoned their posts through fear, and, joining together in a body, encompassed their commanding officer with their swords drawn, and threatened to kill him, in case he did not oblige the marshal to secure them their lives and liberties, by a speedy capitulation.

THE governor, who was sensible of the dangers to which men are exposed in a siege, prepared himself against their coming like a good Christian, and a true religious, by receiving the sacraments; and was but just come from partaking of the holy eucharist, when the Calabrian captain advanced towards him, with trouble and confusion in his looks: being come, he cried out, "Sir, all your enemies are not in the
" Turkish

“ Turkish camp, you have some within the town,
 “ who are still more dangerous ; and it is with infinite
 “ concern that I am come to tell you, that my soldi-
 “ ers, in contempt of their oaths, have abandoned
 “ their post, and refuse to do any more duty. He
 “ told him further, that they cried aloud for a capitu-
 “ lation, using threats at the same time and that he
 “ was afraid they should be forced to submit to that
 “ article, in order to prevent a greater misfortune.”

THE marshal, dissembling his indignation, went very prudently that moment out of the church, and was immediately surrounded by the mutineers. He demanded of them, with a stern air, why they were not all at their several posts : but he easily discovered their rebellious disposition, by the little respect they shewed him ; for they all, as it were by concert, interrupted him with insolent cries ; so that, in order not to expose himself to such a rabble of furies, all that he then thought fit to say was, that he was going to call a council of war. He had no sooner given notice of it, but all the knights and officers came about him, when, without dissembling his trouble and resentment, he cried out, that he had lived a day too long, and that he was very unfortunate, since the enemy's cannon had spared him, only to make him a sorrowful witness of the rebellion, and the perfidiousness of his soldiers ; and thereupon he asked the knights their several opinions about the condition of the place. The chevalier de Poissi, or de Poissieu, of the language of France, declared, that he had examined the breach with the greatest exactness ;^a that it was not so large but that it might be supplied by good intrenchments, and that provided the soldiers would but return to their duty, and take heart, they were still strong enough to repulse the enemy.

BUT a Spanish knight, named Herrera, who^b acted as treasurer, directing his discourse to him, cried out,
 “ I am not in the least surprised that you should de-
 “ clare

^a N. Nicolai, c. 19.

^b Memoires de Villegagnon.

“ clare for a longer resistance in so weak a place, as
“ you are a Frenchman and that your king has an
“ embassador at this time in the enemy’s camp : you
“ are very sensible, that though we should happen to
“ be taken by storm, you nevertheless would have no
“ reason to be in pain about your lives and liberties ;
“ but our fate will be very different, since, being sub-
“ jects to the emperor, the irreconcilable enemy of
“ the infidels, we can expect no quarter from those
“ Barbarians if we do not prevent an assault, and
“ consequently our ruin, by an immediate capitulation ;
“ on ; and this, added he, is what I think necessary
“ to be done for the safety of my countrymen and my
“ companions.” Other officers proposed before they
should come to such a final resolution, the sending one
of the oldest and most experienced knights to visit the
breach, and afterwards make his report of it to the council :
whereupon the marshal dispatched the commander
C pier to the mutineers at the same time, to acquaint
them with this resolution, and to exhort them to return
to their respective posts, till such time as the council
should have decided the affair.

COPIER, in order to engage them to it, offered them, in the marshal’s name, to double their pay ; he
assured them, that they were going to visit the breach,
and upon the report which should thereupon be made
to the council, they would take proper measures to
provide for their safety : but he represented to them at
the same time, that they, by deserting their posts, exposed
themselves, before they should have time to treat, to the
danger of being surpris’d and forced by the Turks ; and
that the only way to obtain an advantageous capitulation
would be to appear all of them in their several posts,
with an air of intrepidity and resolution, and as if they
were fully determined to give the infidels a warm reception.

THE commander’s reasons, which were seasonably
intermixed with tender intreaties, and generous reproaches,
made some impression upon the mutineers ; but Herrera
insinuating to them, that all these promises

ses were designed only to amuse them, and that the marshal, who was a positive man, would rather be killed on the breach than enter into a negotiation, they renewed their clamour, and rejected all the commander's proposals. The marshal's resolute courage, and their own cowardice, by an odd kind of fatality, did both of them contribute to confirm them in their rebellion : for it is probable that they would have been wrought upon more easily, had they thought their governor less capable of taking a desperate resolution. They all protested that they would keep together in a body till such time as the breach had been visited, and that they would not trust to any body's report thereupon but a Spaniard's only ; so that in order to satisfy them, they were forced to send thither an old soldier of their cabal, Guenara by name. This soldier, after having visited the breach, reported that it was easy to be forced, and hard to be defended ; that in case the Turks, as no doubt they would, should continue their battery, all that was left standing of the wall on that side, would be beat down before night ; that there was no possibility of making the intrenchments which the chevalier de Possi had proposed, and that they would be of no other use than to throw away the lives of a great number of good men. Upon his report, which was calculated for the prejudices of the mutineers, they fell into a new rage, and threatened aloud, that if they did not immediately put up the white flag, they themselves would make a capitulation, and let the infidels into the place.

THE marshal finding he had neither soldiers nor authority, referred the decision of this affair to the council. Though almost all the officers detested the infamous desertion of their soldiers, they yet, after having made the most serious reflections on the weakness of the place, the open revolt of the garrison, and the failure of succours from Malta, agreed that there was no remedy left but to submit to necessity ; upon which a military serving brother was ordered to put up the fatal signal of capitulation. Sinan, at the sight of the
flag,

flag, ordered the battery to cease, when two Turkish officers came out of the trenches, advanced up to the wall, and signified that the governor might send deputies to treat. The rebels, who were more masters in the place than the governor himself, declared that they would not suffer any French knight to be entrusted with the negotiation, but took upon themselves to nominate for that purpose the commander Fuster of Majorca, and Guevara, the two secret fomenters of the rebellion.

THESE deputies being arrived at the Turkish camp, were admitted to an audience of the basha ; when they told him, that they were ready to surrender up the city and the castle of Tripoli to him, on condition that he would give the governor, the knights, the garrison, and all the inhabitants, assurance of their lives and liberties ; that he would allow them to carry off their effects, and furnish them ships to transport them to Malta or Sicily. Sinan at first did not seem averse to the proposal ; but after he had reproached them with their rashness, as he called it, in pretending to hold out such a weak place against a royal army, he declared that he would not hearken to any treaty, unless, by way of pre iminary, the knights who were in Tripoli would engage to reimburse the grand seignior for all the charges he had been at in that expedition. The deputies representing to him that it was not in their power to make any such reimbursement, he dismissed them roughly, threatening at the same time, that he would put them all to the sword. But as they were going out of his tent, they happened to meet Dragut, who, when he was told the result of the negotiation, was surprised that the basha had broke it off. The corsair, pretending to be concerned at the basha's being so rigorous towards the besieged. desired them to defer their departure till such a time as he had had a moment's talk with the general : upon which he went immediately into his tent, and represented to him, that he, by prolonging the siege, would run the hazard of miscarrying in his enterprise ; that succours might pos-

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sibly come to the besieged ; that the very despair of obtaining a reasonable capitulation, would serve the knights instead of a new succour, and make them more intrepid ; and moreover, that whatever stress he might lay on his artillery, all he would gain by ruining what was still left of the walls and fortifications, would be to leave so many gates open by the breaches he should thereby make for the troops of the order to enter at, before he could have leisure to repair them, especially in a season when there was no keeping the sea ; adding withal, that he, as a politician, ought not to boggle at signing the capitulation, because that when he should be master of the place, he would have it in his power to give such explications to the treaty as best suited his interest.

THE basha readily approved the perfidious advice of the corsair ; upon which he sent for the deputies back, and told them, that he, at Dragut's request, had granted what he had refused on any other consideration. The treaty was then agreed to, and the basha swore by the grand seignior's head, an oath that is looked upon as inviolable among the Turks, to observe it. When the deputies were going to take leave of him, in order to carry the capitulation to the governor, he told them, that it would be proper for him to come and confer with him, in order to adjust the number of transport vessels that he should want, and the security he was to give for sending them back ; for which purpose he would send one of the principal officers of his army into the city, in quality of an hostage.

SCARCE were the deputies got back into the city, when the officer came to the gate, who was immediately let in ; the marshal had called a council of war in order to consider of the message and to hear the capitulation read. It was there debated whether it might be consistent with the duty of a governor to go out of his fortress alone, and without being at the head of his garrison ; but the mutiny of the garrison made all deliberation useless ; and those who secretly fomented the rebellion, and were afraid of the governor's recovering his

his authority, maintained, that as the treaty was signed, the marshal had no occasion to make any difficulty about conferring with the basha; so far from that, that it would even be imprudent to let him see, that they entertained the least doubt of his not keeping his word; and the rather, because, as it would be impossible for the garrison and inhabitants to return to Malta, or go over into Sicily, without his furnishing them with vessels, they were therefore forced to rely entirely upon his honour; and they unanimously agreed, that in order to shew him how much they confided in his word, the marshal should carry his hostage back with him and indeed the rebels were not sorry to make an experiment, by the treatment which the marshal should meet with from the basha, what they themselves might expect from him.

A GARRISON's disposing in this manner of the person of its governor was not to be justified by any of the laws of war; but the reader may have observed, that ever since the time that the soldiers had openly rebelled, and which the Spanish knights had secretly fomented, all regard to the marshal's authority, and all notion of the duty of obedience, was at that moment extinguished; and the mutineers had no sooner heard that the basha demanded a conference with the governor, but they forced him with insolent cries to go out of the town, for fear lest the capitulation should be broke off: he went therefore to the camp, attended only by the chevalier de Montfort his friend, who was resolved never to leave him, and the Turkish officer who had been sent as a hostage. When they drew near the general's quarters, the officer, under pretence of giving Sinan notice of the governor's arrival, went before, and told him in a few words that he had found the soldiers and inhabitants in a terrible consternation, that he fancied he had discovered something like a division among them, and moreover, that he assured him he might prescribe such terms as he should think proper to the governor.

THE basha made his advantage of this advice; so that at the marshal's coming in, he assumed an air of haughtiness and pride, an air which such Barbarians generally put on when fortune has declared herself on their side; and immediately asked him, if he had brought the money he demanded for reimbursing the charges of the war. The marshal, without discovering the least emotion, answered him coldly, that he depended upon the capitulation, on his word, and the solemn oaths he had taken to maintain it inviolably.

" 'Tis not with such dogs as you, replied the basha
 " in a rage, that a man is to keep his word; you and
 " your perfidious comrades, who owed your lives at
 " the siege of Rhodes purely to the grand seignior's
 " clemency, who would never have indulged you in
 " them as he did, contrary to the advice of his coun-
 " cil, had it not been in consideration of your grand
 " master's engagement, *viz.* that the order should ne-
 " ver for the future attack his subjects, or exercise pi-
 " racy in his seas, but respect his flag in all places;
 " notwithstanding which, in breach of that treaty,
 " and of all the obligations of gratitude, you were no
 " sooner settled at Malta, but you fell again to your
 " old trade of pirating." The marshal, who could
 not bear so unjust a reproach, replied, that the original
 of the capitulation, signed by Solyman's own hand,
 was still preserved at Malta; that there is no such ar-
 ticle in it, and that he was ready to send for it from
 Malta in order to justify what he advanced. He told
 him moreover, that if he repented of the treaty which
 he had made with the deputies of Tripoli, he might
 tear it if he pleased; after which, says he, let the fate
 of war decide to whom the place shall belong. The
 basha, provoked at this resolute answer, ordered him
 to be disarmed, to be put in irons, and sent on board
 his vessel. The marshal, still resolute and undaunted,
 turning himself to the chevalier de Montfort, cried out,
 " If you, brother, are allowed to go back into the ci-
 " ty, tell my lieutenant, and the commander Copier,
 " from me, that they consider me no longer but as a
 " dead

“ dead man ; and as for any thing else, that they be-
“ have themselves as their duty and honour may re-
“ quire of them on this occasion.” After the marshal
was gone out of the basha’s tent, he dismissed Mont-
fort, and allowed him to return back to Tripoli, upon
condition he should tell the knights who were left
there, that if they did not immediately send him the
money he demanded he would have it out of their
persons, and those of the garrison and inhabitants, who
should be all sold for slaves. Montfort had no sooner
told this dismal news in the place, but it raised a ge-
neral indignation among the knights, who all swore
they would fight to the last drop of blood, to revenge
the injury which had been done to their commander.

All talk of capitulation was now at an end, they em-
brace one another, and agree to defend themselves to
the last extremity, to die all by each other’s sides, and
bury themselves in the ruins of the place. After this,
they endeavoured to inspire the same sentiments into
the garrison ; but they had not to do with soldiers,
much less with men ; those wretches, insensible to eve-
ry thing they could represent to them in order to ex-
cite their resentment, answered only like so many wo-
men, by their tears, or by a gloomy silence. In a word,
neither remonstrances, intreaties, reproaches, blows, nor
any thing they could do, could prevail upon them to
take arms again. The council, considering that in so uni-
versal a desertion, it would not be worth while to per-
sist any longer in a fruitless defence for preserving
the liberty of such rebels, resolved to abandon them to
their wretched fate, and leave them as a prey to the
basha, to compound for the liberty of the rest ; upon
which, they sent Montfort back to the general, to tell
him, that it was impossible for the knights to furnish
the sum that he demanded, there being no money in
the city ; but that they would surrender, provided
he would only give leave to three hundred persons,
whom the council should nominate, to march out in
full liberty. The council, before Montfort went to
make this new proposal, upon advice that the basha

would give no quarter to the Moors, who, tho' Mahometans, had yet served the order with great courage and fidelity, had given them such rewards as their circumstances would at that time allow, and advised them to retire to Tunis or Goletta; and, in order to secure their retreat, and prevent their falling into the hands of the Turks, they gave them all the horses that were in the town, and they sallied out at St. George's gate.

AMONG these Moors were several who, having been a long time in the service of the knights, could not be prevailed upon to leave them in this extremity; but protested they would follow their fortune: the rest agreed to the proposal which was made them; but some of them had the misfortune to be surpris'd, and to be taken in their retreat, before Montfort was come back to the camp. They were brought to the basha, when they informed him that the knights were resolv'd to defend themselves to the last extremity, and that when they should not be able to hold out any longer, they would blow up all the fortifications, and involve their merciless enemies in the same destruction with themselves.

THE basha, startled at a resolution which would disappoint him of the booty he hoped to gain by this conquest, and leave him only an heap of ashes, was glad to see Montfort return back; he received him in an amicable manner, and, after hearing what he had to say, gave him room to hope that he would at least indulge two hundred of the besieged in their liberty. He then sent for the marshal, in order to conclude the affair with him; but before he was brought into his tent, they had oblig'd Montfort to go out; when the governor being brought into his presence, he cried out to him, "Has the night inspired you with better resolutions, and are you now dispos'd to pay me the sum which I so justly demand of you? The authority I had in Tripoli, replied the marshal, ended with the liberty you bereaved me of; you must now apply yourself to others; and supposing that my brethren

“ thren might still have some deference left for my
“ sentiments, I shall never be for treating on any other
“ conditions than those which you yourself agreed to ;
“ for the rest, here’s my head, dispose of it as you
“ have already done of my liberty.”

After this, the *basha* took *Dragut* and the *aga Morat* aside ; and whispering together for some time, they in all probability fearing they should find the same intrepidity in the knights as they had done in the marshal, he drew near to him, when giving him his hand in token of peace ; “ Let us talk no more, said he to him,
“ of new conditions, I ratify the first, and agree that
“ all the Christians, who shall be found in Tripoli,
“ shall have their liberty ; you yourself are allowed to
“ go and assure your companions of it, and bring them
“ out with the garrison of the place.”

BUT the marshal, mistrusting this change of behaviour, and fearing lest some new treachery might be lurking under this facility which they had shewn in ratifying the first conditions, excused himself from carrying his promise of it, on pretence that his having been made a prisoner had put an end to his employment and authority ; and upon his refusal, the *basha* sent the Turkish officer, who had been before in the place in quality of an hostage : The mutineers received him with as great eagerness as uneasiness ; when immediately crowding themselves about him, they, without carrying him to the council, pressed him to declare the subject of his commission. The officer told them that his general had sent him to acquaint them, that he, pursuant to the treaty, would grant an entire liberty to all such as should leave the place immediately ; that he would furnish them with ships to transport them to Malta, and that all he required of the soldiers was to leave their colours and arms in the town ; the deserters set up great shouts the moment they heard this declaration ; and, as those cowardly wretches had some days before thrown away their arms as an useless burden, they did not stay for the orders of the council, or the return of the *chevalier de Montfort*, but fearing the least delay would

would make the basha change his resolution, and finding the gates of the town shut, they crowded out at the breaches; and the women and children following their example, hurried out at the same gaps. The knights, finding themselves universally abandoned, were at last forced to take the same course; they all rallied under the walls, and, as they were going towards the camp, Morat aga surrounded them with a body of his Moorish cavalry, and, stripping them without distinction of rank or condition, put them in irons, and treated them like slaves.

OF all the Maltese, des Roches the serving brother, who commanded in the little castle, was the only man that would have the carving of his own fate, and who owed his liberty to his courage and resolution. The basha wanted only to possess himself of that little fort, which being as it were the key of the port, commanded it at the same time: the general's agent tempted des Roches with glazing promises, and endeavoured at the same time to intimidate him with threats of death or perpetual slavery. But the serving brother, though he had no more than thirty men with him, was equally proof against them all; so that the Turk was obliged to raise a battery against the tower, which was soon beat down. Des Roches, unable to hold it out any longer, taking the advantage of a dark night, got with his little company into a bark, and put out to sea; others say, that he retired secretly on board the French ambassador's gallies, which served him for an asylum.

THAT minister could not behold the loss of Tripoli, and the unworthy treatment the knights met with from the Barbarians, without the utmost concern. At the first news he had of it, he ran to the place where they had been seized, when he found them lying on the ground in chains, half naked, and exposed to the insults of the intolent soldiery. He accosted them in terms suitable to their courage and virtue, and assured them that he would go and employ all his endeavours for the recovery of their liberty: upon this he went immediately to the basha's tent, and represented to him

in the strongest terms, that he, by such a shameful piece of injustice, was going to dishonour himself in the face of the whole universe, and that the king his master, and the other sovereigns of Christendom, having some share in the shameful treatment which he shewed those knights, who were most of them born their subjects, would not fail therefore either to have redress from Solyman, or, in case he should refuse it, would use reprisals upon all such Turkish officers as should fall into their hands. The basha gave him an haughty answer, and said, that he was accountable to no one but his master; and that he was well assured, that that prince would not resent his having broke his word with a company of corsairs, who, from a scandalous thirst of gain, had so ungratefully violated the promise they had given at the taking of Rhodes, never to disturb any more the commerce of his subjects by their piracies; that the governor of Tripoli had in vain endeavoured to clear them from so well-grounded a reproach, under pretence that there was no mention made of any such promise in the capitulation; “As if,” says he to d’Aramon, an hundred thousand men who were present at that siege, were not witnesses sufficient, and that the grand seignior’s condescending to stoop so low as to complain of their breach of promise on several occasions, was not infinitely beyond all proofs in writing.”

The politic ambassador would not dispute it with him, but having recourse to insinuation; he, by entreaties and presents, prevailed insensibly so far, as to have the marshal, and the most antient French knights, set at liberty; and the basha, to shew that he pretended to observe punctually the second treaty, or rather the promise which he had made to Montfort, consented that two hundred of those who had been arrested should likewise enjoy their liberty. But here he came in with a new fetch, and chose them, as he had done at Goza, out of the oldest and poorest of the inhabitants. All the rest he kept still in slavery, together with some young French knights, and all those

those of Spain and Italy, who were the emperor's subjects.

THIS exception made the ambassador very uneasy : 'Twas with grief he saw that those amiable youths his countrymen were going to be exposed to perils of various natures, which were so much the more dangerous, as they were seasoned with luxury and pleasures. But he, in order to rescue them from thence, ransomed them with his own money ; and as for those knights who were the emperor's subjects, notwithstanding that that prince was at that time at war with his master, he yet engaged to give the basha thirty Turks, all born of good families, who were actually slaves at Malta, in exchange, and to carry them himself to Constantinople. Having done so far, he set sail for Malta, not suspecting in the least but that the grand master would receive him there as the deliverer of his brethren, and arrived in that island on the twenty-third of August in the evening. This minister, when he went on board his galleys, had sent a bark before, with a letter directed to the grand master, in which he gave him an account of all the circumstances relating to the taking of Tripoli. D'Omedes was greatly surprised at this news ; and that which gave him still more uneasiness than grief, was the apprehensions he was under, lest they should impute to him the loss of so important a place : he was sensible, that a complaint had been made in the convent a long time before of his having employed the money, which ought to have been laid out in fortifying that city, in enriching his nephews : that the loss of Tripoli might probably revive these complaints, which would occasion a strict examination into his conduct, and perhaps end in his being deposed ; in order therefore to extricate himself out of so uneasy a circumstance, he resolved to lay things in such a manner as to make the French ambassador's conduct be suspected, and throw the loss of Tripoli upon that minister and the marshal ; in pursuance of which, he sent for some knights his creatures, and, taking them into his closet, shewed them the letter he had just received
from

from d'Aramon. He at first broke out only in expressions of grief for the loss of so considerable a place ; when, as if he were unwilling to throw the blame on any body but himself, he owned to them with an affected confusion, that he could never forgive himself the imprudent step he had taken, in having engaged d'Aramon to go into Africa, and for having confided in a foreign minister, whose master he could not but be sensible was in a strict alliance with the grand seignior ; that this ambassador, a cunning and insidious person, and who was moreover the marshal's countryman, had insinuated himself into his confidence, by pretending to interest himself in the preservation of Tripoli ; that he probably might afterwards have exaggerated the weakness of the town and the forces of the basha, and have led him insensibly by his artifices into a labyrinth of negotiations, which had at last ended in a scandalous capitulation.

The grand master's creatures, like so many servile courtiers, without examining whether there might not be some falsities in a relation which depended merely upon conjectures, declared openly their detestation of the ambassador's pretended treachery. Each of them, in his way, made a merit of supporting these conjectures by new prejudices every whit as groundless. Some said, that that minister would never have deferred the execution of his master's orders, nor have been prevailed upon to interrupt his voyage to the porte so easily as he did, had he not thought he could have been more useful to him at Tripoli than at Constantinople ; others added, that the great want the king of France had of the fleet and forces of the basha, to oppose them against those of Charles V. made his ambassador hasten the capitulation of the place to the prejudice of the order, the sooner to hasten their voyage to Provence ; that the marshal was inexcusable for having concluded it without having first imparted it to the grand master and the council, in consequence of which, it was agreed, that he ought to be prosecuted for it immediately ; but they, in order to get rid of so troublesome a witness

ness as the ambassador would prove, resolved to delay the process till after his departure. In the mean time, to render him suspected, and to make as if they mistrusted him, the grand master, at his coming off the harbour under pretence of its being an unreasonable hour, would not suffer the chain to be taken away ; but ordered the castle-guard to be doubled, and took the same precautions as in time of war, and as if the enemy was returned to the island, and lay before the gates of the place.

THE next day the grand master's confidants, in concert with him, had it whispered abroad, though without naming any body, that Tripoli would not have fallen so soon into the power of the Turks, had it not been for the ambassador's secret intelligence with the basha, and the marshal's weakness, having suffered himself to be guided by d'Aramon's perfidious advice. This news was told up and down with all the air of a great secret, that was not to be confided but to intimate friends, which, by being still communicated with the strictest charge of secrecy, became at last the public talk. These reports, improving by the various conjectures which every body added as fancy might suggest, soon reached, as the grand master had intended they should, all the knights houses, and passed from thence to the people ; by this artifice, d'Aramon, unknown to himself, became in a moment the object of the public execration.

BUT the grand master did not stop here ; for he, in order to make him no less odious over all Christendom than he was at Malta, engaged those of his cabal to write word underhand to the knights who resided in Europe upon their several commanderies, signifying that the French ambassador had betrayed the order, and delivered up Tripoli to the infidels, and that had it not been for the wise precautions which the grand master had taken, he would have attempted to seize on the castle of St. Angelo, and put it into the hands of the Turks. These reports were soon spread over all Christendom, and made a great impression on people's minds.

And

And at last those which they had published at Malta, with so much virulence, came to d'Aramon's ears. It would be impossible to express the surprise he was in when he heard them ; he demanded an audience immediately, which was assigned him in full council : when seating himself by the grand master, and thinking it would be derogatory to his character to stoop so low as to refute all these false reports, he only desired him to call to mind, that he had not gone into Africa, but for the repeated instances which he had employed in order to engage him to it ; and wherein he, to make him fully resolve upon it, had mentioned the advantage that would thereby accrue to the Christian religion, and the great regard and affection the king his master had for the order. He added, that after his arrival in the Turkish camp, he had done all that lay in his power, both to engage the basha to raise the siege, and to deliver the knights out of slavery ; that God had blessed his endeavours, so that he had brought them back safe in his galleys, and that as he had engaged himself to carry back as many Turks, who were slaves to the order, in exchange, he hoped the grand master would cause them to be delivered to him, that he might perform his promise with honour.

THE grand master answered him in few words, and with a very cold air, that they were very much obliged to him for his care ; but as to the Turkish slaves he demanded, he said he could not do any thing in it ; that it was the business of the knights who had taken them to dispose of them as they should judge proper or, in case of their refusal to part with them, it was the marshal's business to make the basha amends. D'Aramon might very justly have replied, that there was a yet shorter, and indeed a juster way left, which was to deliver him back the Spanish knights, in order for his surrendering them back to Sinan : but he thought it would be beneath his character to expose the grand master's injustice : so, without condescending to complain of it, he went out of the port in a few days, and kept on his way to Constantinople.

HIS departure left the grand master at liberty to go on with the execution of his project ; for which purpose he held several secret councils with his creatures about that affair ; the result of which was a resolution to ruin the marshal. They agreed, that in order to answer the grand master's ends, it was now time to bring him upon the stage in d'Aramon's stead ; but as they could not fall upon him singly, for a resolution which had been taken in a full council of war, the grand master, and those who joined with him in carrying on this black design, thought it proper to comprehend the knights who had the greatest hand in the capitulation, and involve them in the same accusation. His emissaries, dispersing themselves up and down among the knights, took care to suggest to them, that the suffering such a scene of cowardice and prevarication to pass uncensured would be a great scandal to the order : and he himself represented to the council, though with all the outward shew of grief, that the honour of the order obliged them absolutely to call the marshal and the other knights to account for the motives which had determined them to capitulate : “ In order, (said d'Omedes, with a pretended moderation) “ that they “ may be acquitted if they should be found innocent, “ or else be punished, if we should have the mortification to find them guilty.”

THE council finding this proposal very reasonable, voted for an immediate examination of the affair, and the bringing of the accused to a trial ; and resolved that three knights, of three different languages, should be appointed to take informations about it. The grand master had no difficulty to make the choice fall upon his own creatures ; but as these commissaries were religious, and could not in that quality take cognisance of a capital crime, where the lives of the accused lay at stake, it was resolved to give them an assistant, and to put a secular person at the head of the commission, who, after the examination, and the report of the commissioners, was to pronounce sentence, with respect to the nature of the punishment which the fault
of

of the criminals might deserve. The artful grand master, without seeming to be any further concerned in it, than as justice required he should be, pitched upon a secular officer of the island, Augustin de Combe by name, whose fortune he had made, for that employment; he was a corrupt judge, a man capable of doing any thing for money. He likewise got another secular, a Spaniard by birth, to be chosen solicitor of the commission, who had no merit but that of being blindly devoted to his interest: d'Omedes, by the choice of all these judges, had it in his power to make the affair take what turn he should think proper.

UPON a petition presented by the solicitor ex officio, the first step they took was to arrest the marshal, and the knights Fuster, de Soufa, and Errera, who had had the greatest hand in the capitulation, though after a very different manner. As the loss of the place concerned the emperor, by virtue of his being lord paramount, and that Tripoli served likewise in some measure to cover his dominions in Italy, the knights who were born his subjects, in order to make their court, were not ashamed to seize their general themselves, because he was a Frenchman; and to throw him into an horrible dungeon, where he had not the least light to comfort him. The grand master, fancying his destruction to be inevitable, and that he was no longer obliged to keep any measures, thought proper, in order to deprive him of all succour, to forbid, under severe penalties, any knight's offering to solicit in his favour; and that because of the enormity of the crime, and that the interest of the state was concerned in it. By another order he enjoined the commissaries to reject all the reasons he might give for excepting against the witnesses; and that they, without having any regard either to the condition or the reputation of the deponents, should admit, without distinction, the testimony of all such persons as should offer themselves, and that they should not oblige them to be confronted with the accused: so that on the whole, they could scarce possi-

bly have taken surer measures for the speedy dispatch of an innocent person.

THIS new system of law was the occasion that, among the witnesses which the solicitor admitted, there appeared some who were villains convicted as well as fellows who had been guilty of the blackest crimes; such was one Dominic Cabillan, a Spaniard, whose testimony was allowed of, notwithstanding his having been judicially convicted and condemned of forgery; such was Vanegas, another Spaniard, who, after having renounced our Saviour, and embraced the Mahometan religion, had, to go on still in iniquity, sold his own children to the infidels; this villain they had fetched back from Africa, purposely that he might make his deposition against the marshal; such, in a word, was one of the gunners in Tripoli, who had been taken in the very instant he was going over to the infidels, and would infallibly have been executed but for the marshal's clemency. All good men were infinitely concerned to see that they were resolved to destroy that nobleman at any rate; but the cabal was so strong, and they had made his cause so very odious, that no one durst open his mouth in his favour.

THE chevalier de Villegagnon was the only person who, in spite of the grand master's orders to the contrary, was generous enough to undertake his defence, wherein he acquitted himself with an invincible courage. He declared publicly, that it was very extraordinary, since Tripoli had been lost only by the negligence, and perhaps the avarice of those whose business it was to fortify it, and throw succours into the place, that they should nevertheless pretend to make the marshal responsible for another man's fault. Upon these complaints, which were thought very reasonable, that nobleman's friends, and most of the French knights, began to open their eyes, and to reproach themselves for having been made the tools of the passion and hatred of d'Omedes. The grand master, to prevent any effect of their testimony, and the accounts they might send into the several nations of Christendom, had recourse

course a second time to the venal pen of his confidents, all whom he obliged to write unto their respective countries as follows, viz. that the grand master being desirous of having the marshal tried for selling Tripoli to the infidels, the greatest part of the French knights, out of apprehension that his being convicted of that crime would fix a mark of infamy upon the language, had taken up arms, and were actually besieging the grand master in the castle of St. Angelo.

THIS news, tho' utterly false, did nevertheless raise a terrible indignation against the French knights in foreign countries, where they were never mentioned but as so many rebels; so that one would have thought that the single quality of being a Frenchman was a crime which they could not expiate but by death.

D'OMEDES having got the start of them by these letters, and prejudiced the world against the French, did his utmost to bring this great affair to a speedy conclusion; and, before such time as the truth could be cleared up, the solicitor ex officio, in concert with him, brought up a set of new witnesses: Villegagnon, discovering immediately that they were suborned, complained of it to the commissioners, brought them convincing proofs of the subornation, and represented to them, that, supposing the grand master had forbid the marshal, under pretence that it was a state crime, to except against them in any manner, that it yet was their business to admit at least of the testimony of none but such as they knew to be men of probity: but those knights, being wholly devoted to the grand master, answered him coldly, that that enquiry related only to the solicitor of the cause; that, as for themselves, their business was only to take their depositions in the very terms they made them, and that they were equally disposed to hear such as he should produce, either for or against the charge; adding, that they would allow him a week's time for that purpose; though they had granted the solicitor in ordinary two months to bring his witnesses together. Above three score per-

sons, all men of known integrity, appeared in that small space of time, and deposed in the marshal's favour, and by their testimony entirely invalidated the depositions which the false witnesses had made. At last the commissioners made their report, and the secular judge pronounced sentence in full council, which was to this effect; That, in the loss of Tripoli, it did not appear that the marshal and the other knights had been guilty of any treachery or intelligence with the enemy; that the misfortune was entirely owing to the cowardice of the Calabrians; that there were indeed no imperial constitutions or laws which inflicted any punishment in such a case upon a governor and his officers; but that, by the statutes of the order, degradation was the penalty incurred by every governor who should abandon a place with which he had been intrusted, without express leave from the grand master and the council; in consequence whereof, he concluded, by one and the same sentence, that the habit of the order and the cross should be taken away from the marshal, and from the knights Soufa, Errera, and Fuster, as accomplices in the loss of Tripoli.

THE grand master discovered, by an air of discontent, that he was not any way pleased with this sentence; the only reason of his having comprehended the Spanish knights in the accusation was in order to prevent any suspicion of his having proceeded against the marshal merely from a national hatred; and was moreover in hopes, that after he had got him condemned, he should be able to find out occasions and pretences to get his countrymen acquitted. This sentence which the judge had pronounced disconcerted all his measures; but in order to remedy it if possible, he represented to the council, with a pretended moderation, and an affected modesty, that he thought the judge, in order to put an end to so important an affair, had been a little too hasty in pronouncing sentence against these different persons: and that he was of opinion, that a great difference ought to be made between the fault of each criminal, as well as in the different penalties to be inflicted

ed on them ; and that for the present, the judgment which had been pronounced against the marshal ought to stand good ; but that that of the officers ought to be superseded, in order to judge each of them separately, according to the different nature of the crimes whereof they stood convicted.

THE judge perceiving that he had displeased the grand master by this general sentence which he had pronounced against all the impeached, changed his mind, without any sense of modesty or shame, notwithstanding his having given judgment but that moment before ; and, in order to pacify the grand master, made a new decision, by which the Spanish officers were excluded from the general sentence in which they had been included ; and declared, by way of explanation, that although he had condemned them all to the same penalty, their faults were notwithstanding of a very different nature. When the bailiff Schilling, of the language of Germany, directing his discourse to the judge, “ Are not you, (says he to him with indignation) “ the most profligate fellow living, to change your “ sentiments in a moment, at the least sign of the grand “ master’s discontent ? You just now gave a definitive sentence, that as the impeached had been equally guilty of the same fault, they ought all to undergo the same punishment ; and a moment afterwards you pretend to separate the faults, and defer the sentence against them.” “ He has spoke like a wretch as he is,” said the chevalier Nuguez, of the language of Castile ; and, turning himself to the grand master, “ I will never suffer, (says he to him) the sentence which has been pronounced against the marshal to be executed, unless the same penalty be at the same time inflicted upon the rest.”

ALL the assembly declaring themselves to be of the same opinion, the grand master pretended to come into it ; but as he was vexed that his prey had in some measure escaped him, and that he could not destroy the marshal only, as he had proposed to do, he desired to be heard a moment ; he then represented to them, that

that although they had ordered that all the criminals should be punished at the same time, it yet would be but justice to make some difference between their crimes, and the punishment which they deserved ; that the marshal and the chevalier Fuster seemed to him more guilty than the rest ; the one for having negotiated the capitulation, and the other for having abandoned the place of which he was governor ; and whereas two such great crimes might perhaps deserve to be punished with death, he was of opinion, that it would be proper for the council to give themselves no further trouble about it, but refer the definitive sentence to the secular judge, who had already taken cognizance of the affair. This corrupt judge having varied in so scandalous a manner but a moment before, made them reject him with clamour ; notwithstanding which, the grand master insisted positively on his being nominated ; but the judge, finding that the warmer part of the council loaded him with invectives, would not proceed any further, under pretence, that as he had pronounced sentence already, he could not give judgment twice in the same affair. The grand master, enraged at his not being able to carry his point, put off the affair to another time, ordered the secretary of the council to register all that had passed, and broke up the assembly.

IN the mean time, such as were enemies to the French king and his kingdom, had no sooner heard of the letters which the grand master had caused to be sent into their territories, but they gave out that the French ambassador had delivered up Tripoli to the infidels, and had returned back to Malta, in order to let them into that island ; and that if it had not been for the grand master's vigilance, all the knights would have been cut to pieces, and Christendom thereby have lost a place which served as a bulwark to Sicily and all Italy. The king highly resenting these reports, so derogatory to his glory, and the honour of the nation, dispatched a gentleman in ordinary of his household to the grand master. This gentleman's name was du Belloy,

loy, who delivered him a letter from his majesty, dated the last day of December, wherein that prince, after complaining grievously of the infamous reports which had been spread up and down against his embassador, desired him to let him know plainly and truly, whether d'Aramon was really guilty of the crimes which were laid to his charge, "in order that if he should be convicted of it, he might punish him as the greatness of his crime deserved; or, if he was innocent, he might be justified, by his testimony, among foreign nations, where he had been so barbarously defamed."

THIS gentleman's arrival, and the letter he brought with him, gave the grand master the utmost uneasiness: the spreading of whispers up and down underhand, the sending of anonymous letters, or subscribing them with the names of inconsiderable persons, was a game that was not to be played with so great a monarch as Henry II. in an affair which concerned his honour; he was now forced to speak out plainly, and advance nothing but what he was able to maintain before the face of all Christendom.

D'OMEDES, in order not to expose himself to any dispute, and to extricate himself out of the difficulty he was under, laid the king's letter before the council, where it was read; after which he asked the lords then present what were their sentiments about the answer that should be made to it. All the assembly were unanimous in their resolution of writing back to the king, wherein they should declare, that the order, far from having any reason to complain of his embassador's conduct, had nothing but thanks to return his majesty for all the good offices they had received from him, and which engaged the whole order more than ever, to an eternity of acknowledgments. The council ordered their secretary, at the same time, to draw up this letter, or rather to get it signed by the grand master, and deliver it to the king's envoy, or else to the chevalier de Villegagnon, who was to return back with him.

D'OMEDES,

D'OMEDES, who still persisted in his secret design of destroying both the embassador and the marshal, soon repented of his having referred to the council the answering of a letter which had been directed to himself only: in order therefore to elude the proofs which might be drawn from it in favour of the persons accused, he sent for the secretary, and, without letting him know what use he designed to make of the letter, he only told him, that as it was directed to a great king, and related to an affair of so delicate a nature, the terms of it could not be too well weighed; for which reason, he said, he had a mind to confer with him about it at leisure; and that in case the French gentleman, or de Vi legagon should ask for it, he should find out some excuse to dispense his giving it to them; and then recommending secrecy to him, he dismissed him.

VILLEGAGNON having let some days pass over, and finding that the secretary, during that time, had not taken care to execute the orders of the council, he asked him the reason of it. The secretary, pursuant to the grand master's orders, excused himself on the specious reason of a multitude of business; and, in order to amuse him, promised to bring him the letter as soon as possible: but whole weeks passed away without their being able to get it out of his hands. These pretended delays made Villegagnon suspect that they had some ill design again upon the anvil; and, in order to trace it to the bottom, he exerted himself to the utmost, and moreover set all those knights to work, who like himself, had interested themselves in the marshal's defence. At last he discovered, as he himself relates, that the grand master had had some secret conferences with the judge who had tried the impeached; that he had reproached him with his weakness in having desisted from his commission, upon the complaints which had been raised against him in the council; that the grand master had said further, that he was still strong enough, in spite of the opposite cabal, to get a revision of that very prosecution referred to him; but that he would never forgive him, if he should vary a
second

second time in his sentence ; and that he, to oblige him to keep his word, would needs force him to sign a bond to pay him five hundred ducats of gold, in case he did not act in the whole prosecution exactly as he should prescribe him.

THE persons from whom Villegagnon had this advice told him further, that the judge, through the fear he was under of losing his post, as well as the grand master's favour, had promised and signed every thing he had required of him ; that the grand master, after having got this security from him, delivered him a memorial containing certain facts and articles, which he was to interrogate the marshal upon ; ordering him, at the same time, that in case he either denied them, or should refuse to answer, to put him to the torture, in order to force him, by the violence of the torments, to own that he had delivered up Tripoli to the Turks, purely upon d'Aramon's sollicitation. They likewise informed him, that the grand master had owned to the judge, that the hopes of extorting this confession from him, in order to send it to the king, had been the only reason of his having so long deferred giving an answer to that prince's envoy, and that it was the only way he had left to extricate him'self with honour out of an affair in which both his dignity and glory were endangered, and which could not be secured but by the destruction of the persons impeached.

VILLEGAGNON does not name the person to whom he owed the discovery of the plot ; either because he had been engaged to secrecy, or else perhaps because it came from the judge himself, who might well be afraid to take upon himself, without leave of the council first obtained. to put one of the great officers of the order to the rack ; and was therefore not sorry that the rumour of his plot might prevent its execution, and at the same time save him the considerable sum he had so imprudently obliged himself to pay to the grand master. Be that as it will, Villegagnon having a full account of this horrible design, went to the council, and demanded, in the name of the king's envoy, that
they

they would deliver him the letter which he was to carry to that prince ; representing, that if they should defer his departure but never so little, the season would be so far advanced, that there would be no venturing out to sea. “ However, added Villegagnon, in case “ the council should have changed their sentiments, it “ may perhaps be sufficient, in order to convince the “ king of his embassador’s innocence, to send him the “ result of the commissioners examinations, together “ with a copy of the sentence pronounced by the secular judge : by which instruments alone, that monarch will see plainly that the capitulation of Tripoli was not in the least owing to any treachery or intelligence of d’Aramon’s and the marshal’s with the “ infidels, but that the loss of it was wholly owing to “ the cowardice and rebellion of the Calabrian soldiers.”

A KNIGHT of the priory of Aquitaine, who was a great partisan of d’Omedes, replied, that all the king desired was, to be informed of his embassador’s conduct in Africa, and that therefore they were only to answer to that point. The grand master was overjoyed to meet with a man who opposed the proposal of Villegagnon, whom he judged to be too able a man to require a copy of the proceedings against the impeached, but with the view of carrying the king the most irrefragable proofs of d’Aramon’s innocence. And, finding that that French knight was always thwarting him, he sternly asked him, where he had learned that the order was obliged to give secular princes an account of their criminal proceedings against their knights. “ I never intended, replied Villegagnon, to advance “ such a proposition ; all that I designed was, that in “ lieu of the letter which the council ordered, and “ which has not been yet drawn up, the king might “ think it sufficient, for his minister’s justification, to “ have the testimony of the very judge of the impeached who declares, in the sentence, that his minister “ had not been guilty of any unlawful practice, or “ criminal intelligence with respect to the capitulation.

“ on. However, since you order me, continued the
 “ knight, addressing himself to the grand master, to
 “ give you an account of my particular reasons for de-
 “ siring that copies of those proceedings might be sent
 “ to France, I will give it you, with all the openneſs
 “ and ſincerity which I profeſs, and, at the ſame time,
 “ with all the deference and reſpect I owe to you, and
 “ to the auguſt aſſembly before which I ſpeak.”

THEN raiſing his voice, and putting on a noble and
 reſolute air, “ There hath been, for ſome days paſt, Sir,
 “ (continued he, ſtill addreſſing himſelf to the grand
 “ maſter) a report ſpread abroad, which reflects high-
 “ ly on your honour, which is, that in a private con-
 “ ference that paſſed between you and la Combe, you
 “ agreed to carry on a new proſecution againſt the
 “ maſhal; that that unjuſt judge has engaged to put
 “ him to the rack, and to force him, by the violence of
 “ the torture, to confeſs crimes he was never guilty
 “ of; upon which he is to condemn him to death, and
 “ that after his execution, his confeſſion is to be given
 “ inſtead of the letter which the council has ordered to
 “ be written to the king. This, we are told, is the
 “ only reaſon of that pretended delay which the ſe-
 “ cretary makes in giving the letter to that prince’s
 “ envoy.”

THE grand maſter fell into a paſſion at this diſ-
 courſe; and darting fire from his eyes, and all in-
 flamed with rage, he commanded him to declare pu-
 blicly from whom he had had ſuch ſcandalous reports.
 “ The name of the author is not at preſent the buſi-
 “ neſs, (replied Villegagnon with great modeſty;))
 “ the only queſtion at this time is, to know from
 “ yourſelf whether the fact be true or falſe.” “ Ut-
 “ terly falſe,” cried the grand maſter. “ Declare,
 “ Sir, before the whole aſſembly, replied Villegag-
 “ non, that you acquit your judge of the ſum of five
 “ hundred ducats of gold, which he ſtands bound
 “ to pay you, in caſe he does not paſs ſentence of
 “ death upon the maſhal.” At theſe terrible words
 the grand maſter immediately changed colour, and ap-
 peared in the utmoſt confuſion; his head was quite
 VOL. IV. Q turned,

turned, so that he was not master of himself; when, being enraged to see himself attacked so warmly by one of his inferiors, he fell upon him with a torrent of abusive language. But Villegagnon, thinking he had done sufficient in having acquainted the council with his ill designs, withdrew from the assembly; the members whereof, being justly incensed at all these villainous conspiracies, appointed another judge, and ordered the secretary, under very severe penalties, to lay aside all affairs, and deliver that very day to the king's envoy, or to Villegagnon, the letter which had been written to that prince, in the form, and in the very words in which he had been directed to draw it up.

HOWEVER positive these orders might be, the secretary, who was one of the grand master's creatures, durst not execute them without first consulting with him about it; he therefore went privately to his palace, wrote the letter before him, gave a new turn to it; and, instead of taking notice in it, as the council had ordered him to do, that d'Aramon, far from having contributed to the loss of Tripoli, had, on the contrary, done all that lay in his power to keep the basha from laying siege to it; he, I say, instead of these terms, so very express in favour of d'Aramon's innocence, inserted a clause which related only to the time of the writing of that letter; and moreover made the grand master say, that the council had not as yet discovered any thing wherewith they could charge d'Aramon. D'Omedes, by this clause, and under pretence that new impeachments might arise, reserved to himself a power of reviving, on some other occasion, the impeachment that had been brought against d'Aramon.

THE letter drawn up in this manner, and dated the 17th of November, was delivered to Villegagnon, who soon saw through the artifice: upon which he carried it immediately to the council to complain about it; and the lords of which it was composed, ashamed of such a series of frauds, took upon themselves to draw it up, which the grand master, after what had passed, durst not refuse to set his hand to.

THAT

THAT lord, after thanking the king for all the marks of kindness with which he had been pleased to honour him, added these very words, as M. de Thou, a famous historian, who was alive at that time, relates: “As to what your majesty desires of me, I, in order to satisfy your will and command, declare, that d’Aramon arriving here on the first day of August, with two gallies and a brigantine, and having been received according to his quality, shewed us the order you had given him at his setting out for Constantinople, to visit us in his passage, and to assure us of your disposition to serve us; whereupon we desired him to go over into Africa, and endeavour to dissuade the basha from laying siege to Tripoli, if he had not already invested it; or that in case he should find it actually besieged, to make use of your majesty’s glorious name, and his own credit, to engage him to raise the siege; that d’Aramon cheerfully embraced this occasion of doing service to the order; but that the Turkish general having been deaf to all his intreaties, he returned hither, without being able to prevail in any one article; that he declared publicly before the council of our order, how highly he was concerned for the loss of Tripoli; assuring us withal, that he had omitted nothing in his power that might contribute to the giving us the satisfaction we desired of him, as having your majesty’s express commands to that purpose. Moreover we, in order that the whole world may be acquainted with the true source of this misfortune, have caused informations to be taken on all sides; and, after the strictest enquiry that could possibly be made in this affair, we have not discovered any thing that could any way induce us to believe that d’Aramon ever contributed in the least, or used any solicitations whatsoever for the surrender of the place; so far from that, our knights, who had been made prisoners at that time, informed us on their return, that he was not only clear of all manner of blame, but had moreover obliged our order by an infinite

“ number of good offices : the report therefore, which
 “ has been rumoured up and down to the contrary, is
 “ very unjust, and against all manner of reason, &c.”
 “ This letter, a copy whereof is in my custody,
 “ (says M. de Thou, at the end of his seventh book,)
 “ was afterwards sent by the king to all his embassa-
 “ dors, in order for its being published in the courts
 “ of the several princes where they resided.” By this
 means they put a stop to the ill reports which the im-
 perialists had spread abroad, so very prejudicial to the
 honour and reputation of the French. The whole na-
 tion owed this signal piece of service to Villegagnon’s
 zeal and address ; and as this knight was no less mas-
 ter of his pen than he was of his sword, he published
 an excellent memorial at Malta, which he dispersed
 over all Europe, and which is still preserved ; by which
 it is manifest, that the grand master, from a principle
 of avarice, and an invincible obstinacy, had diverted
 the succours, which might possibly have saved Tripoli,
 another way.

As for my own part, however, without pretending
 to speak in a decisive manner in so nice an affair, I
 cannot think but that the treachery of the renegado of
 Provence, who discovered the weakest places in Tri-
 poli to the Turks ; the rebellion of the soldiers ; the
 great fear the two Spanish knights were in, and their
 intelligence with the mutineers ; and, in a word, the
 governor’s too easy credulity, and the grand master’s
 positiveness against putting any succours into the place,
 were the cause of their hasty capitulation, as well as
 the reason why the besieged, before their taking such a
 step, did not, like their predecessors, hold out till such
 time as they should be reduced to a greater extremity.
 The marshal paid sufficiently afterwards for his impru-
 dence in going out of his fortress, by the long impris-
 onment he suffered : but the grand master, who, as we
 have already observed, caused the other impeached
 knights to be arrested, for no other reason but because
 he could not separate their cause from his, got them
 pardoned as soon as possible : and, as in all kinds of
 govern-

government whatever, that man who has the disposal of the preferments and dignities is generally master at the same time of the votes, d'Omedes had interest enough to engage most of the great crosses who composed the council, to consent to their being set at liberty.

AT the very time when the order was in the greatest confusion from these domestic broils, Leo Sirozzi Prior of Capua, having quitted the post of general of the galleys of France, from a resentment he entertained against the first minister of that crown, presented himself before the harbour of Malta, and sent to ask the grand master leave to enter into it. But that prince, who was jealous of every thing that came from France, was harsh enough to refuse it him; and, either from the apprehensions he was under of the prior's inclination to favour the marshal's party, or else out of zeal for the emperor's interests, and his own resentment for Sirozzi's having but a little while before carried two galleys and several merchant ships out of the road of Barcelona, he sent him word that he would give orders for his being fired at in case he did not retire immediately. An answer in such violent and menacing terms and so very unusual in a republic, deprived the prior of any place of refuge in all Christendom, and of any other asylum but the sea and two galleys; so that in case he should be pursued by any body of corsairs who were stronger than himself, or should be caught in a storm, he could not put into any of the emperor's ports, without being in danger of being arrested; nor could promise himself any greater security in those of the duke of Florence, who was a mortal enemy to all the Sirozzi. He would not have met with a better reception in the harbour of Genoa, where Doria, the emperor's admiral, commanded, a general over whom the prior had gained several advantages during the time he commanded the galleys of France; a kind of affection, which a man would be very glad, if possible, to conceal from himself, but which he scarce ever forgets, or is ever brought to forgive. There was no

other asylum left for the prior, but the ports of France, a kingdom which he had served with fidelity as well as success. Yet here he would have been less safe than in any other part of Europe. Envy, that inseparable attendant upon glory, had drawn upon him the enmity of the whole family of Montmorency: the constable, who was both prime minister and favourite to Henry II. had found means to render him suspected to that monarch; and, at his return to Marseilles from the expedition of Barcelona, he had secret notice given him of a design they had to arrest him, and moreover, that it was expected Francis de Montmorency, the constable's eldest son, would succeed him in the command of the galleys.

THE prior therefore, in order to prevent this ill treatment, went on board his own galley; and being followed by that of his brother, got by dint of rowing over the chain of the harbour, and made his way to the open sea; when finding himself safe, he sent back his standard of general to the king, together with a letter which M. de Thou has transmitted to us, the purport of which is as follows: That as he was not born his subject, he had not engaged in his service from any other motive but the desire of acquiring glory; but that now he had no other way left, either to preserve his honour or his life, which was threatened, but to abandon France, and to withdraw out of the reach of the ill designs of his enemies, who, not finding any more effectual way to hinder his showing his innocence, and at the same time to prevent his justification, had resolved to have him assassinated. "I therefore beseech
 " your majesty, said he, from your wonted goodness,
 " to pardon me for having left your dominions without
 " your leave; and I dare flatter myself so far as to hope,
 " that you may probably one day regret me, when the
 " events of war shall give you occasion to compare my
 " services with the exploits of those who are going to
 " supply my place."

He wrote afterwards to the same effect*, to the two seigniors de Strozzi, his brothers: by which he told them,

* *Memoires de Brantome*, t. 2.

them, that he was ready to give the king satisfaction as to his conduct; and, in order not to prejudice their fortune, he promised never to engage in any measures against France. "My resolution," says he, "being to make war upon the infidels for the service of my order." This was the occasion which had brought him to Malta; when being obliged to quit that coast by the grand master's unjust orders, and though he had no ammunition or provisions, but about twenty quintals of biscuit, which a knight, a great cross, and his particular friend, had furnished him with privately, without the knowledge of d'Omedes, he stood out to sea, and sailed for the Levant in company with the commander de Martines, a Navarrese knight, who was resolved never to abandon him. The prior landed afterwards in one of the ports of Sicily; and as that commander was the emperor's subject, and was personally known to that prince he sent him to his court, to represent to him, that he had quitted the service of France, and was actually going to make war upon the Turks and infidels, his majesty's enemies, and therefore hoped he would give him leave to put into his ports, and there bring whatever prizes he might take. Upon this he continued his course, without steering directly for any place; when his provisions afterwards falling short, he seized on all such as he could meet with, without distinction, from all Christian vessels that came in his way, not excepting even those of his own order, always protesting that nothing but necessity could have forced him to do it. He kept an exact account of every thing he had taken, promising to indemnify the owners for it one day or other, and styling himself *The friend of God alone*. He cruised up and down the mediterranean during a whole summer together, during which time he took such considerable prizes from the infidels, that he, at his return, found himself master of an hundred thousand crowns. As he was sailing along the coast of Calabria, he met the commander de Martines, who had procured him a very ample safe-conduct from the emperor; and that prince, who was an excellent

cellent judge of merit, and had an admirable talent at bringing over the generals of his enemies to his service, had empowered the commander to offer his friend an annual pension of 12000 crowns, with the command of twelve gallies, and a promise of the post of admiral after the death of Doria. The prior, who stood in the utmost necessity of that prince's protection, either from a view of sheltering himself in his ports, or in order to return back into Malta, did not absolutely decline the offer; but as he had already promised his brothers, who were still devoted to the interests of France, never to bear arms against that nation, he spun out the negotiation of Marines. Meantime the viceroy of Sicily, on advice that his master was desirous of engaging the prior in his service, gave orders that he should be admitted, together with his gallies, into all the ports of that island, and did not, for his own part, omit either presents, or any of those blandishments which courtiers know so well how to employ, whenever they are to bring about any of their master's designs. The prior was equally polite, but told him, " That he could not enter into any engagement till such time as he had conferred with the grand master and council of the order about it. " He therefore, under pretence of sounding how they stood affected, sent one of his officers thither, with directions to acquaint his best friends with his happy return: he sent also at the same time, and by the same officer, a fine ornament designed for the altar of St. Mary de Philermo, which he had got made at Messina; and as an indirect reproach on the grand master for his hard usage, he had caused these words of St. John to be embroidered on it: *He came unto his own, and his own received him not.*

AFTER he had thus given proofs of his devotion, he gave others of his probity; and as nothing but the most urgent necessity could ever have forced him to seize on the provisions of Christian vessels, he caused proclamation to be made by sound of trumpet in all the sea port towns of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, whereby he declared that he had deposited a considerable

able sum at Messina, for the Payment of all such persons as he had been forced to plunder of their provisions and ammunition, whilst he was cruising up and down. He would needs pay them both the interest and principal; which was executed with so much exactness, that he gained no less reputation for his equity and disinterestedness, than he had before done for his skill in the arts of war: two qualifications, which though they must be united in order to the forming a great man, are yet very rarely found to center in one and the same person.

THE grand master hearing of the prior's return, and being informed of the emperor's views, he, in order to bring them about, and force the prior to engage in his service, declared openly, that he continued still in the same sentiments, and therefore was resolved not to receive him into Malta. But Strozzi's friends, who were some of the most considerable men in the order, sent him word, that d'Omedes should not have it in his power to refuse him entrance into the port a second time. Upon their letters, he immediately goes ashore, arrives at Malta, gets into a skiff, and lands without giving the grand master any previous notice of his return: when a great number of knights, who admired his valour, came in a body to meet him. Thus attended, he goes up to the palace, salutes the grand master with that noble assurance which virtue inspires, tho' still with the respect that was due to his dignity; when he tells him, that having advice that the Turks threatened the island with a new invasion, he was come to offer him his service, and to join as he was obliged by his profession, with his brother knights, in the common defence of the order. The grand master dissembled his surprise, and the secret uneasiness he felt at his arrival. D'Omedes was at that time at variance with the council, who complained that he, from a scandalous principle of avarice, had on one pretence or other, got all the estates of the order into his hands. He thought that the presence of so illustrious a knight as the prior of Capua, might strengthen the party of
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the malecontents : but as his disposition and conduct was wholly regulated by that of the imperial court, and being sensible that the emperor was desirous of getting the prior into his service. he received him in an amicable manner, and treated him with great demonstrations of kindness. He moreover desired him, after he had repos'd himself a while, to visit all the island, and gave him the charge to examine all such places as stood in need of being fortified ; Bombost grand bailiff of Germany, the commander Lewis de Lastie the marshal's lieutenant, and Peter Parado a Spanish engineer, being joined with him in this commission.

THESE three commissioners, after having travelled over the whole island, and carefully observed all its various situations, made their report to the council, whereby they represented, notwithstanding that the town, which was the residence of the convent, was fortified by the Castle of St. Angelo, it yet was overlooked and commanded by mount St. Julian, a slip of land that jutted out into the sea ; that it would be necessary to fortify the town on that side with new works, and to build a fort upon that mount, in order to hinder the approach of the enemy : that the port, or Marza Muzet, lay open, and was defenceless, and that the only way to keep the enemies fleets from entering it would be to build a new town upon mount Sceberras, as being the most difficult place of access in all the island ; that they would do well to transfer the convent thither one time or other, and that in the mean time they could not be too expeditious for the security of port Muzet, in building a fort upon the point of that rock, in order to defend the entrance of the harbour : And he concluded with pressing the grand master, and the council, to fortify all those necks of land, which were much longer than they were broad, and which, by their intervals, formed a like number of ports, they being exactly shaped like the fingers of a man's hand.

THE council, after a mature examination of the report of the commissioners, and the scheme which they proposed of the works, resolved to set about them immediately. But as the order wanted a sufficient fund to carry on so many different works at the same time, and that the very building of a new town would have drained their treasury ; all they could do, was only to fortify the town with new bastions on that side where it was overlooked ; to add flanks and calemates to it ; to sink and widen the ditch so as let in the sea-water ; and, till such time as they might be able to build a new town upon mount Sceberras, they agreed, considering the importance of that post, to begin with building a castle there, with four little bastions or bulwarks, and to place them in such a manner that they might serve at the same time for the defence of the city, which they designed one day to build in that very place.

AFTER the council had thus resolved on these several works, the three commissioners divided the direction thereof among them. The grand bailiff took upon himself the direction of the fortifications which they proposed to add to the town ; the prior of Capua undertook that of the castle which was to be built on the point of the rock or mount Sceberras ; and the commander de Lastic was pitched upon to have the direction of the other fort, which they proposed to raise upon mount St. Julian.

THESE three commissioners, who were inspired with an equal emulation, after having sent for masons and workmen from Sicily, carried on their several undertakings without the least intermission. The peasants of the island were employed in digging the ground and carrying the materials. The knights in general, to push on the work briskly, were continually in the work-houses, relieving one another by turns : and all the different orders of the state, as well knights as townsmen and peasants, applied themselves to it with so much ardour, that in less than six months time, the town was in a condition not to stand in fear of a
siege,

siege, and the castle of mount Sceberras was finished and well provided with artillery. They called it the *Fort of St. Elme*, in memory of a tower of that name, which served to defend the entrance of the port of Rhodes; and the other fort which was built upon Mount St. Julian, was called *Fort St Michael*.

So great was the diligence used in the carrying on of these works, that we are indispensibly obliged to do justice in this place to the generous disinterestedness of all the knights of that time, both of such as were actually in the convent at Malta as of those of the commanders who were at a distance from it. All of these, agreeable to their vows, and from a noble contempt of self-interest, brought their money and plate to the treasury; and the private knights, who had nothing they could call their own but their gold chain, a kind of ornament which they wore at that time, gave them with pleasure to contribute to the payment of the workmen: an example which has been imitated in our days, when, upon the report of a mighty armament, which, as was given out, the Turks intended to employ against Malta, several knights, without waiting for a summons, immediately transported their persons and fortunes thither; and some who were old and infirm sent all their effects beforehand, with their plate, which they had converted into specie.

It would be impossible to express the joy and satisfaction which the whole body of the knights, as well as the inhabitants of Malta, broke out at the sight of these forts; which, by the diligence of the directors, seemed as it were by a kind of miracle to have sprung out of the earth, and to secure the whole island from the incursions of the infidels. The grand master and council were highly extolled on this account; but the sincerer and better part of the elogiums redounded to the honour of the three commissioners, and particularly to the prior of Capua, who by his skill in fortification, and by his zeal and continual application, had built a fort which defended the port Muzet, and which deserved to be considered as the principal key of Malta.

In the warmth of those sentiments of esteem and gratitude, which all the convent expressed for this illustrious prior, several of the chief knights of the order declared that there was now nothing wanting for their security but only to see him their grand master : and as d'Omedes was very old, all their wishes declared already in his favour.

THE grand master could not hear these reports without a secret vexation; and as if the very sight of his successor would have contributed to the shortning of his days, he, under pretence of interesting himself in making the prior's fortune, endeavoured, by all manner of artifices, to remove him from his presence, and send him from Malta. In pursuance of which he pressed him, in the warmest manner, to enter into the emperor's service ; but the prior, who, next to the house of Medicis, hated no body so much as he did Charles V. their protector, told the grand master, in plain terms, that he could never so much as think of fighting against France, and against a king to whom he had formerly plighted his faith ; and that no hopes of advancing his fortune should ever make him engage in what he conceived was contrary to his honour, whatever resentments he might justly entertain against the ministers of France.

D'OMEDES finding he was resolved not to leave Malta, and not being able to endure him there, he, in order to send him from thence, and get rid of him on another pretence, proposed to him the undertaking of an expedition upon the coast of Barbary, and the putting of him at the head of an enterprise which he had formed upon Zoara. This city, known formerly by the name of Possidono, and seated in the province of Tripoli, lies thirteen miles east of the isle of Zerbi or Gelves. Its good harbour had drawn thither, at that time, a great concourse of merchants of different nations ; and this great commerce had greatly enriched its inhabitants. Some Moors who were slaves at Malta, had told the grand master, in hopes of recovering their liberty, that the place was not fortified on the land-

side; that under cover of a kind of forest of palm-trees, which ran almost to the very edge of the ditch, they might advance up to it without being discovered; and that as the inhabitants kept no guard on that side, they might easily be surpris'd, and the city taken before they could have time to recover themselves.

THE grand master offered the prior a sufficient number of knight and soldiers for the enterprize, and these slaves for his guides. Strozzi, who was not out of hopes of raising himself to the grand mastership, readily accepted of an employment which gave him an opportunity of signalizing himself in the sight of his brethren of the order. Upon this he immediately fitted out his gallies, and some brigantines that were his own, putting 1200 men on board of them, among which were upwards of 300 of the bravest knights of the convent, who were all eager to fight under the eye of a general who was so excellent a judge of valour.

THIS little fleet set sail from the port of Malta on the sixth of August, and arriv'd off the coast of Barbary on the fourteenth in the evening. By a mistake of the pilots, they landed much farther off than they propos'd to do, at a place which was at least twelve miles distance from Zoara, and they were forced to march all night long over the sands, and through some groves of palm-trees, with which that part of the country was covered. The general, before he began his march, divided his troops into three battalions. The commander de Guimeran, an old knight whom we have already mentioned, led the first, being preceded by the chevalier de Strozzi the prior's nephew, whom his uncle had put at the head of some young knights, who made a kind of forlorn-hope in this expedition. The main body of knights followed at some distance, and was commanded by the chevalier Parisot de laValette, lieutenant-general. The march was clos'd by some companies of infantry, which the chevaliers de Rangif, de Bisbale, and de la Benante had levied in Italy for the service of the order. The prior had reserv'd to him-
self

self the principal command of these troops, as being the most numerous body, out of which he, for that reason, might draw detachments, and send them to the succour of the two first battalions, as there might be occasion. The army marched forward in this order; and some Maltese in a Moorish dress, who spoke the language of the country, went a mile or two before the rest, and advanced up into the country, in order to see how things stood, and whether the enterprise was not discovered. Every thing appeared very quiet; but as they drew near Zoara, they perceived upon the left, some fires in a kind of camp filled with tents and pavilions, the soldiers of which seemed to be fast asleep, and without any sentinels; upon which they immediately desired the general to give them leave to go and view them, and afterwards attack them. But as 'twas thought, as indeed it was very likely, that they were a troop of those Arabs, who live generally in camp, and most of them naked and sordidly armed, so that there was very little to be got by them; and as they likewise considered, that it would be impossible to attack them so near Zoara, without giving an alarm, and awaking all its inhabitants; it was therefore unanimously resolved, that they should defer the attacking of those troops till such time as they had taken Zoara; and for their better success in that point, the general ordered his principal officers and captains to march, as soon as they should be got within the town, directly forward to the great square, where all the streets met; where they should fortify themselves, and not suffer the soldiers to run up and down to plunder, till they should be masters of all these posts, where the inhabitants might be able to intrench themselves; and to compensate in some measure for such a disagreeable, but necessary restraint, he promised them two crowns for every Moor's head they should bring him.

AFFAIRS being settled in this manner, the army, notwithstanding the darkness of the night, which was not yet spent, advanced in good order, with great silence, and found the town buried in a much greater,

it not having so much as a single sentinel, much less a guard-house, and its gates standing wide open. The Christians entered it without opposition; and, leaving some companies without to secure the entrance, and facilitate the going out, they marched to the great square, drew up in battle-array, and awaked the inhabitants with the sound of their drums and trumpets. The soldiers were no longer to be kept in order. They disperse themselves up and down the streets, break open the houses, kill all those who offer to make resistance, take prisoners all such as are unarmed, and with sword in hand force the trembling townsmen to deliver their money. These merciless soldiers, in order to make a profit of such as had none, bind them, in order to sell them for slaves; and, without any distinction of age, sex or condition, force the old men, the women and children, with blows, to march down to the sea-side, to put them on board the galleys of the order: a wretched way of making reprisals, but which at the same time is very necessary to repress the cruelty of the infidels, and teach them to treat the Christians better on the like occasions.

THEY had by this time got together in the great square about 1500 of these persons, who were bewailing their misfortune with tears, when luckily for them there arrived succours, which broke their chains, before they had felt all the weight of them. The commander de la Valette had been commissioned to put them on board; when a Moor of the town, called Aly Benjiora, hearing his name mentioned, ran to him with eagerness, and, after having made him call to mind that he had served under him in Tripoli, “ Do you know, Sir, says he, whispering to him, that you are going to be attacked and cut in pieces ?” When, to convince him of the danger he was in, he told him, that what the Christian general, in his way to Zoara, had taken for a flying camp of Arabs, was a body of 4000 Turkish cavalry, all old soldiers, and excellent arquebussiers, commanded by Morat Aga governor of Tripoli, who, going by orders from the
porte,

porte, to the island of Gelves, and having been overtaken by the night, had encamped in the place where they had discovered him ; that some of the inhabitants, who had made their escape from the Christians, were gone to implore his succour, and that he had promised them to be at the gates of Zoara by break of day ; and therefore, continued he. 'tis your general's business to take proper measures in order to prevent his being surpris'd.

THE commander rewarded the Moor for his intelligence, and ran to give the prior an account of it : upon which, the general, in order to call his soldiers about him, ordered immediately a retreat to be sound-ed ; but the noise and tumult which always attends the sacking of a town, the cries of the women and maidens whom they tore away all trembling from the arms of their husbands, or the bosoms of their mothers ; all this, I say, prevented their hearing the signal of retreat : though after all 'tis probable enough, that the soldiers, in their thirst of plunder, might only pretend they had not heard it, as not caring to desist from so agreeable an employment.

IN the mean time, Morat fancying he should find the Christians dispersed up and down in the several quarters of the place, arrives at the gates, which the Maltese had quitted, in order to have their share in the plunder. Upon this, he enters with the same facility that the Christians had done, falls upon such as he finds in his way, kills several of them, and spreads a general consternation among the Christians ; so that the general of the order could scarce find a sufficient number to make head against the infidels. At length day-light appears, and by that means affords the knights a distinct view of the enemy and of their own danger. Then indeed they give over plundering. They all endeavour to rally themselves under the standard of the order ; they all crowd together as well as they can which however they do but in platoons, and as the place they were in would allow them. Each knight, without waiting for his general's orders,

makes use of those only which his courage inspires ; the engagement becomes general, and both armies are mixed together in combat. The Moors join themselves to the Turks their deliverers. Most of the prisoners, during this disorder and confusion, make their escape ; so that la Valette, who had the charge of them, could put no more than about 200 on board. The knights, though divided from one another, and pressed by the superior number of the enemy, still make head wherever they meet them. Some, fortified by the situation of the posts they were in, pretend to maintain themselves in their conquest ; others think of nothing but getting to the sea, and retiring on board their galleys : Among whom, the chevaliers Storza, and young Strozzi, together with several knights of great merit, fought to the last drop of their blood, rather than they would yield ; and the infidels would not have had the pleasure to see any of the knights made their prisoners, had not they, after the battle was ended, found the chevaliers de Chabrillan, Maissilly and Bracamont lying in the field of battle among the slain, though indeed they had only fainted away, who were afterwards ransomed.

In the mean time, whilst the engagement was still carrying on, the prior, who was advancing with another body towards the sea-side, having notice of the danger his nephew was in, turns back, and advances to his relief : but he found, at his arrival, that fate had put it out of his power. The natural desire of revenging his death, and the hopes which the Turks on the other side had of defeating this second body, and thereby gaining a complete victory, brings on another engagement. Both sides return to the combat with recruited fury, and behave with inexpressible bravery. The Christians and the Turks, inspired with the most obstinate hatred against each other, neither give nor take quarter : they all fight and close together ; every one grapples with the enemy he meets, and of a general engagement make as many particular duels as there are soldiers in each party. But at length the
Turks

Turks finding themselves too warmly attacked by the knights, clap spurs to their horses, and retire at a distance from that formidable battalion. Here they charge their muskets again, return in good order to fire in the very faces of their enemy; and the prior, who was at the head of his troop, is disabled by a musket ball that lodged in his thigh. Immediately the Turks advance forward to dispatch him, but the surviving knights and soldiers make a rampart for him with their bodies. The commander Copier, Tolon de St. Jaille, and Soto-major, are killed in repulsing the infidels. 'Tis very probable that they would have found it a very difficult matter, in the condition they were in, to rescue the prior from the fury of the Barbarians, had it not been for a knight of Majorca, Toreillas by name, who being of an extraordinary stature, and of a surprising strength of body, took his general in his arms, carried him first from the front of the battalion into the center, and from thence made his way, with equal fatigue and danger, through a shower of musket shot, which was continually levelled at him, to the sea-side.

HERE this generous knight, loaded with a burden that was more honourable than it was troublesome, met with new dangers. The sea was low in this place, and some banks of sand, which are very frequently met with along this coast hindered the smallest shallops from coming to the shore. Toreillas however goes into the sea up to his waist, and with infinite difficulty goes from rock to rock, and from shelf to shelf, till at last he comes to deeper water, where the long boat of the admiral galley came to his assistance, and took him in together with the prior.

'Tis probable, that in any other body but that of Malta, the retreat of a wounded general would have damped the courage of the soldiers: but the knights, who being all of them, if I may be allowed the expression, born generals, and animated with the same courage, were susceptible of no other passion but that of joy. When they found their general was safe, indiffe-

rent

rent as to their own fate, all the concern they had now left was for the standard of the order, which the chevalier Cassiere carried, to prevent its falling into the hands of the infidels.

THE prior being safe, they now considered what measures they should take; and they agreed to keep always in a body, and make a kind of a running fight, till such time as they should get to the sea side; for which purpose, they begin their retreat, being pursued all the way by the Turks who, knowing that the shallops could not come near the shore, expected to kill all such as should lag behind, as well as those who, being got to the sea, were still within the reach of their arms.

DURING this march, which was frequently interrupted, the Christians, as they drew near the sea, met with a rock on the point of a narrow pass, which they immediately seized upon, in order that they might have time to take breath. They, from this place, had a full view of the gallies and the shallops that attended them: but the business was how to get to them. La Cassiere, who would have sacrificed a thousand lives, rather than hazard the standard of the order, represented to the oldest knights, that in case the army kept together in a body by the sea side, the infidels who followed close at their heels, would fall upon them with more fury than ever; that whilst some should be endeavouring to save themselves in the water, others would be engaged with the enemy; and that in such a disorder and confusion, they would be in danger of losing the standard of St. John; so that in order to prevent a disgrace of that nature, it would be proper for the knights alone to stay behind to guard it, and make head in the pass to stop the impetuosity of the Turks; during which the wounded, and the rest of the soldiers, should file off insensibly, and get, one after another, on board the gallies and vessels of the order; and that when they once should have got rid of that troublesome multitude, it would not be impossible for a small number of knights, who most of them could swim, to disperse them-

themselves, and by that means escape, one after another, the obstinate pursuit of the infidels.

THE proposal was very much approved of, especially by the soldiers, who were the first to reap the benefit of it ; and la Cassiere, pointing to the longboats and shallops that lay at no great distance, cried out, “ Save
“ yourselves, my friends, and provide for your own security, whilst my comrades and I continue here to
“ stop the pursuit of our enemies ; we may, perhaps,
“ be so fortunate as to follow at your heels ; but in
“ case we should be cut to pieces, the order will not
“ fail to reward your services, and the substantial
“ proofs you have now given of your bravery.” Upon this the soldiers marched off, and filing, one after another, got to the sea side, waded into the water, and went on board the vessels that waited for them.

THE rage of the Turks increased with redoubled fury, when they saw that part of their prey had escaped them ; upon which they make a fresh charge, and endeavour to force the entrance of the pass.

BUT the knights, who were ever intrepid, made a formidable resistance with their swords and pikes. The aga attacked them in vain with his cavalry ; but not being able to make them give way, he orders his troopers to dismount, and advances, sabre in hand, into the pass to force it. The Turks, with their broad scimiters, cut the wood of the pikes in two, break the swords of the knights, and flatter themselves with the hopes of soon dispatching that small remnant of them, whom they imagine to be animated only by despair. But those intrepid warriors, though most of them had at last no weapons left but their daggers, grapple with the Turks, slay or wound such as they can lay hold on, and make themselves dreaded, and even admired by those Barbarians.

THE aga, persuaded that he should not carry his point but by the fire of his musketeers, orders his cavalry to remount on horseback. Whilst this was doing, Verdalle turning towards la Cassiere, cries out to him, “ What are you doing here ? Are we to wait til
“ the

“ the infidels kill us one after another, and that the
 “ standard of the order, to our eternal reproach, fall
 “ into the hands of those dogs? Believe me, brother,
 “ we are hard by the sea side, let us follow the steps
 “ which our illustrious general has marked out for us
 “ with his blood, and endeavour, after his example,
 “ to get to our gallies. The water, you know, is low,
 “ and we may all get thither if we make some struggle,
 “ and afterwards throw ourselves into it ; and if there
 “ should happen to be, as they tell us there is, any
 “ channels among the shelves of sand, that are deeper
 “ than ordinary, we knights that survive, will carry
 “ you by turns, with the standard of our holy order ;
 “ and if any one of us can but save it, let death come
 “ afterwards whenever it shall please God.”

THE commander de la Cassiere, finding that to be the only expedient they had left, resolved to make use of it ; accordingly he set out with his little troop, which marched a great pace, but keeping close together as usual. When they were come near the sea, the knights separated themselves, dispersed in a moment, and threw themselves into the water in different places. La Cassiere, supported by Verdalle, and some other knights, waded into it, and with an invincible courage, holding his banner always aloft in the midst of a storm of musket-shot, made his way to the shallows, and was taken on board with great shouts and acclamations : but several knights, who faced about, and stood their ground on the sea-side, in order to gain him time to make his retreat, dropped, and were killed by the continual fire of the enemy.

THE order lost most of the knights and military serving brothers that were in this unfortunate expedition ; and, among the most distinguished of that number, history has preserved us the names of Dupuy Monbrun Saint Marcel, d'Avanton, de Briançon, de Bonne, la Rochette, la Roche Montmor, de la Motte, all of them descended of the principal families of the province of Dauphine ; St Salpice, Puipatron, Gilbert, Brichanteau, Bauvais Nangis, Harancourt, le Plessis Richelieu,
 de

de Gordes, knights of the language of France, were also killed : that of Italy lost the two Valparges, Sforza, young Strozzi, Grimaldi, and Justiniani ; as Spain did Berenger, Soto-major, Perez Pachieco, Montroy, Touar, and Barientos, who met with the same fate. We are not to omit, that the chevalier Pogleze, of the language of Italy, was killed by the sea side with a musket ball, as he was supporting with one hand the standard of the order which la Cassiere carried ; he was a knight of singular piety, who, by his example, and the whole tenor of his life, made it manifest, that a constant and faithful practice of the most severe virtues is not any way inconsistent with the most distinguished valour.

T H E

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
Knights Hospitallers
O F
St. J O H N of J E R U S A L E M,
Called afterwards
The K N I G H T S of Rhodes,
And at present
The K N I G H T S of M A L T A.

B O O K XII.

THE prior of Capua, getting his ships together, set sail, and returned with the shattered remains of his troops into the port of Malta^a. His wounds had weakened him so much, that he was forced to be carried upon a plank to his own house: he was followed by the greatest part of his officers, who were hardly in a better condition than their general. But though he had lost a considerable number of knights, by the unavoidable hazards of war, in this unfortunate expedition, he yet did

^a Jacques Pozani Vicentin. v. de L. Strozzi.

did not lose the glory which he had acquired on other occasions, nor the reputation of being a wise and valiant captain ; both the officers and soldiers doing him this justice, that at the time he despaired of being able to vanquish the vast multitude of enemies that had surprised and surrounded him, they had never seen him give his orders with greater temper and presence of mind, and, at the same time, fight with more intrepidity and courage. Upon testimonies so very honourable, and sealed, as it were, with his blood, he was rechosen general of the galleys. As the sea was his element, he had not patience to wait till his wounds were quite closed, but set sail again, and spent all the summer in scouring the Mediterranean up to the very mouth of the Nile.

HE was the terror of those seas ; every ship fled his presence, and the bravest corsairs took all the care they could to avoid him. This, however, was very often ineffectual, many of them being taken and made slaves ; whole fleets of merchants, notwithstanding their convoys, falling into his hands. He carried his prizes into the ports of the order, bringing thither at the same time, plenty, luxury, and pleasures.

WHILST they were taken up at Malta in celebrating his return with rejoicings, which always attend on good success, there arrived news of a different nature, of great importance to the order, and to the English knights in particular. A ship of that nation, captain Homadan commander, came into the harbour. That officer had the character of envoy of the queen of England, and in that quality was admitted to an audience of the grand master, to whom he presented a letter from her majesty, in which she told him, that God having placed her on the throne of her ancestors, she had resolved, for the discharge of her conscience, to restore all the commandries and estates, which king Henry VIII. her father, and Edward VI. her brother, had unjustly taken from the order ; and she concluded her letter with desiring him and the council to send immediately some of the knights to London, with

ample powers, to take possession of all the commandries and places that had belonged to their order.

THIS surprizing news occasioned great rejoicings at Malta, especially among the English knights, who considered that happy revolution as an earnest of the re-establishment of the true religion in their country. But in a nation so jealous of its liberty, such a restitution of church lands was not brought about without great difficulties. For the better understanding of so important an affair, we must recollect what was said in the tenth book, about the unreasonable motives that had engaged Henry VIII. to usurp the lands of the monasteries and commandries within his dominions. And perhaps it may not be improper, in order to the setting of this point of history in its full light, to give here a short account of the last actions of that prince, and also of the several transactions that happened in England after his death, during the short reign of young Edward his son, and the beginning of that of queen Mary, his eldest daughter. Henry, finding his end drawing near, settled the order of succession to his crown, which, by reason of his various marriages, had been changed several times; he, since his separation from Catharine of Arragon his first wife, having married five other women, most of whom he had either put to death, or rid himself of them by an arbitrary divorce.

As this successive polygamy might cause disturbances in the kingdom after his death, and occasion civil wars between his children, the parliament, the living and supreme law of that nation, gave him power to settle the succession of the crown as he should see fitting. Henry, by virtue of this act, had, some time before his death, declared his son prince Edward, who was hardly nine years and a half old, and whom he had had by Jane Seymour his third wife, for his successor. He likewise, in order to shew the world that he still maintained the invalidity of his marriage with Catharine of Arragon, declared the princess Mary, his eldest daughter, a bastard; though, before his divorce, he had acknowledged her as princess of Wales, and, in that quality,

quality, presumptive heir of the crown. Princess Elizabeth, daughter to Ann Boleyn, his second wife, succeeded to this great title after her sister, which she also lost in her turn, upon her mother's execution. The king, their father, to gratify his third wife, had got an act of parliament to pass, by which they were both deprived of the succession to the crown: but a few days before his death, he restored them to their just rights, and declared them his heirs, in case prince Edward should happen to die without issue.

THESE two princesses were as opposite to each other in their characters, as they were in the different interests of their birth. The eldest, brought up by a Spanish mother, and descended on her side from the kings of Arragon and Castile, was naturally proud and haughty: her education had made her a zealous Roman catholic; she was naturally devout, and moreover devoted to the holy see, as her interest required. which had interposed its authority to legitimate the marriage of the queen her mother.

As Elizabeth's pretensions were null, by the validity of this dispensation, some concealed protestants, her mother's creatures, had brought her up in a great estrangement, and kind of contempt for the power of the sovereign pontiff. This was the most essential part of her religion; in other respects, she was indifferent enough as to tenets, of a complying easy temper, which could assume any form she pleased. She was haughty or obliging, just as suited her interest, and, tho' scarce thirteen years old, she already discovered a glimpse of that capacity, which became afterwards the admiration of all Europe. The king her father unhappily ended his days in the schism which he had occasioned, and was no less an enemy to the holy see than to the protestants; and this prince, who rashly employed himself in reforming religion, died in a miserable uncertainty of the true one.

His death occasioned new troubles in England. The real catholics longed to see an end of the schism; but they were the weaker party. A multitude of protestants, who had hitherto been restrained from declar-

ing themselves for fear of persecution, threw off the mask, and overspread the court, the metropolis, and the counties of the kingdom. Several bishops also declared openly in favour of this new opinion; and, in order to establish it on a lasting foundation, they brought up the young king in the principles of the protestants. The protector, the officers of his household, and his preceptors, in their discourses with him, treated the holiest of our mysteries as downright idolatry.

THE prince breathed, as it were, nothing but an infected air: they prepossessed and misled his reason, at an age when he could not judge clearly for himself: so that he embraced the protestant doctrine which they were continually representing to him as more agreeable to the gospel; and he was so unhappy as to persist in it, with a confidence that ought to be inspired by truth only.

THE parliament made new laws to authorise this change: the mass was abolished, the images removed out of the churches, and the holy scriptures unfaithfully translated, and so as to favour the prevailing opinions. Divine service was said in the vulgar tongue; the clergy were allowed to marry; and, what the greedy courtier had most at heart, such church-lands as were left, became a prey to a set of men, all whose religion consisted in ruining religion itself.

THUS England from schism was plunged into heresy. Such catholic bishops as were left in the kingdom exerted themselves in vain, in order to inspire the people of their dioceses with a just horror for these innovations. The clergy was despised; the schism had broke that so necessary union with the holy see, the center of religion: not but that several English bishops at that time were men of learning, and unblameable in their lives and conversations; but though they were against these innovations, they yet, either from the hopes they had of being made bishops, or to get other preferments, had been weak enough to own the pretended supremacy of Henry VIII.: besides, some of them, in spite of their conviction of mind, had been so weak

as to write in favour of that prince's separation from the see of Rome. In vain did they endeavour, after his death, to stop the progress of the reformation: their zeal was imputed to them as a crime, and exposed them to all the penalties of the acts of parliament. This served them also for a pretence to strip them of their rich benefices: some were deprived, others imprisoned, and all of them expiated by a long persecution for the fault they had committed, in having separated, out of complaisance to the court, from the unity of the church.

THE young king's death, which happened the 6th of July, occasioned new revolutions in England. This realm was governed at that time by the duke of Northumberland, who was regent or prime minister. He was a nobleman of vast ambition, who, in order to place his son upon the throne in his master's stead, had married him to lady Jane Grey, a daughter of the duke of Suffolk, and descended from Mary of England, sister to Henry VIII. This nobleman, in order to bring this young lady nearer the throne, had, a few days before king Edward's death, put him upon making a will to disinherit the two princesses again, under pretence that they were born of disputed marriages. This will, in prejudice of their rights, appointed the lady Jane Grey his successor to the crown; and the great seal being put to it, that young lady, by virtue of this will, was proclaimed queen of England. But though Mary was known to be a very zealous roman catholic, yet the city of London, as well as the country, detesting afterwards this usurpation, declared themselves with so much warmth and zeal in her favour, that she became in a few days, without any battle or bloodshed, mistress of the kingdom, and had the persons of her enemies in her power.

PROVIDENCE having thus led her, as it were, by the hand to the throne, she thought that she could not better shew her gratitude than by employing her first cares to the settling of religion, and the reconciling her dominions to the church of Rome. For the put-

ting of this great design in execution, it was necessary to repeal all the acts of former parliaments, which had either confirmed the divorce of Henry VIII. the rejecting the pope's supremacy, or had, after his death, employed their authority for the establishing of the reformed religion.

THIS enterprise was attended with great difficulties; most of the bishops, (if intruders deserve the title) the lords and great men of the kingdom, made an open profession of the protestant doctrines; and such as were not infected with those principles adhered nevertheless to the separation from the see of Rome, and would not hear the least mention of the restoring the papal authority. Under these difficulties, the queen's ministers convinced her, that it would be impossible for her to succeed in such a great design, without her being supported by an husband that was a zealous roman catholic, and who had power and credit to go through with her projects.

THERE were no want of pretenders on this occasion; several princes and noblemen, as well English as foreigners, were of the number. Philip of Austria, a young prince, and only son to the emperor Charles V. was one of the candidates; and his father's money had gained him the interest of the queen's chief ministers. Most of the English roman catholics wished the queen's choice would fall upon cardinal Pool, who was only a deacon, or else upon young Courtney her cousin. Pool was descended, by the mother's side, from the duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV. and Courtney's grandmother was daughter of the same Edward, and sister to the mother of Henry VIII.

THE English cardinal was in great repute for his wisdom, learning, capacity, and prudence, as well as for the regularity of his life. Courtney distinguished himself by the charms of his person. The queen had a secret inclination for that young nobleman, who inspired in without any art or design, into those whose hearts were the least susceptible of passion. There was something so noble in his air, and so wonderfully graceful

in his carriage, that this princess, severe as she was, could not help looking on him with a secret pleasure. His presence alone effaced in a moment all the political reasonings of her ministers, who had declared in favour of the emperor's son; and it is certain, that in the first emotions of a rising inclination, she would have preferred Courtney before either Pool with all his wisdom, or Philip of Austria with all his power, if that young nobleman had not, by his own extravagance, and the irregularity of his conduct, destroyed these favourable dispositions. He saw the queen's weakness for him, and was bold enough to shew her that he saw it, without making a return; and instead of being assiduous in making his court to her, he passed his time with common strumpets, in an easy and scandalous course of debauchery.

THIS dissolute way of life was succeeded by a passion for the princess Elisabeth; he fell desperately in love with her, and loved her with all the flame and sincerity of a young man in his first passion. Several were of opinion, that she loved him; but whatever sentiments that politic princess might discover, the event has shewn, that they did not arise so much from love as from ambition, which she artfully managed in order to gain herself followers and creatures. Nor is it altogether improbable, but that a motive of vanity, which is common enough in persons of her age, and the secret pleasure of carrying off a lover from her sister, even from the throne, might have had some share in engaging her to shew a greater complaisance to the passion of a young nobleman, whom all the ladies of the court strove to please. Be that as it will, Courtney's affection to the princess soon became public, and he sacrificed the queen with as much imprudence as love. She was weak enough to resent this preference with a jealousy unsuitable to her age and dignity; and though she had no charms to please, and was above nineteen years older than her sister, yet she looked upon Courtney's preference as an injustice done to herself.

ANTHONY DE NOAILLES resided at that time at the queen's court, in quality of ambassador of Henry II. and had succeeded his cousin Claude de Laval de Bois-Dauphin, of the family of Montmorency, in that employment. This minister saw the approaches of Courtney's disgrace, even before he himself had the least notion of it. He used all his endeavours to make him sensible of his true interest ; but he had to do with a young man who was insensible to every thing but what flattered his love. The flame and violence of his passion hid from him the lustre of a crown ; and in the midst of the transports of his amorous phrenzy, he would have preferred the enjoyment of the princess Elizabeth before all the thrones of Christendom.

'T WAS a matter altogether indifferent to France, whether the queen married either him or cardinal Pool : Henry II. had no manner of interest in that affair, and all his concern was to oppose her marriage with the emperor's son. His ambassador was continually inculcating to the English nobility, that in case this match should take place, their kingdom would be in danger of being made a province of Spain ; that the inquisition would be soon established, and that their parliaments would be quite laid aside, or at least meet less frequently, and sink at last into meer formality and ceremony. The English, and particularly the protestants, were very sensible of all the dangers to which they would be exposed by this alliance. They presented several addresses and petitions to the queen on this account ; and the opposition was carried to such a length, that an insurrection broke out in some counties ; but the emperor's money, and the dexterity of the queen's ministers, got the better of all these obstacles. In fine, that princess was married to Philip of Austria, though an important point was still wanting to complete the emperor's satisfaction. He was not satisfied that his son had married the queen, but he wanted to have him declared king of England, and crowned as such. The ceremony of it, so essential to the sovereign authority, could not be performed without the
consent

consent of parliament : but it was no easy matter to gain over such a body of men, who oftentimes shewed more regard to the liberty and interest of the nation, than they did deference to the authority of the sovereign. Those who had shewn the greatest aversion to the queen's marriage, as well as such who had come into it out of complaisance, united together on this occasion, when they thought the liberty of their country was in danger. The French ambassador, without stirring from his own house, put all the various springs of this united party in motion, and at a time when the court was entirely devoted to the Spanish interest, he found the secret to bring the parliament over to that of the French: and it was owing to his activity and management, that Philip miscarried in his design, of getting the regal authority into his hands, and was forced to take up with being consort to a queen, who was much older than himself, and had nothing agreeable in her person.

July 25.

1554.

That princess, however, gained considerable advantages by this alliance : the emperor, a prince of formidable power, concerning himself in the queen's affairs, enabled her to put all her designs in execution ; so that by consent of parliament, protestantism was abolished, and the roman catholic worship restored. Pool afterwards reconciled the kingdom to the see of Rome, being authorised for that purpose in quality of legate to pope Julius III. but not daring to insist either on the doing penance for the separation, or the making restitution of the church and abbey lands, he was at first forced to wave all restrictions, and grant entire absolution of faults, which it would have been dangerous to attempt to punish. Haughty as the manner of this satisfaction was, they thought fit to take up with it ; and the English received the favours of the holy see, with an indifference that plainly shewed the generality of the nation did not desire them.

THE project of getting the church-lands out of the hands of the protestants that enjoyed them, was put off to a more favourable juncture. The queen, by Pool's advice,

advice, in order to set her subjects an example of such a restitution, declared, that her conscience would not allow her to keep any of them any longer in her hands; in consequence of which, she immediately parted with all the church lands that the king her father had annexed to the crown, and gave them back to the former proprietors. This was the occasion of captain Heshnadan's voyage to Malta. We may easily conceive, that this news was very agreeable to the order in general, and to the English knights in particular. The grand master and the council wrote about it to the queen, to thank her for the justice she had done their order; and the commander de Montferrat was sent into England, to carry on this great affair in concert with the ministry. The order, upon his arrival, were put in possession of their estates without any trouble, and the commander, by virtue of the authority he had received from the grand master and council, and as a testimony of their gratitude to the queen, conferred the priory of St. John, and the dignity of great cross, upon Sir Richard Sceley. an English gentleman, who was one of her greatest favourites, and had a considerable share in this negotiation. Upon his account likewise, his brother Sir James Sceley got another commandry: that of Munigton was given to Sir Oliver Starkey, that they might in his person do honour to polite learning, and the sciences of which he was master; and, at the emperor's recommendation, who, ever since his son's marriage, had had a great sway in the councils of England, the title of bailiff de l'Aigle was given to the commander Fuller, a native of Majorca, and knight of the language of Arragon, whom we had occasion to mention in the foregoing book, in the account we gave of the lois of Tripoli, and the prosecution of the commander Vallier grand-marshal of the order.

THE grand master d'Omedes did not live to
 Sept. 6. see this important affair entirely perfect-
 1553. ed. He died the year before, in the begin-
 ing of September. He had distinguished
 himself

himself by his valour at the siege of Rhodes, was religious, and affected a great air of regularity and devotion, but was withal of an imperious and revengeful nature. He was covetous, and so bent to enrich his family, that he almost ruined the order by the grants he made in his lifetime to his relations, in contempt of the laws and statutes of the society. What he left behind him was so very inconsiderable, that several knights, out of indignation to see that he had alienated his principal effects, and disposed of them to his nephews, proposed to have the care of his funeral left to them ; but the lords of the council rejected this proposal as unbecoming the generosity and grandeur of the order. He was buried, as usual, at the expence of the order, and with a magnificence that was rather suited to his dignity than his personal merit.

A few days after his decease the chapter met to chuse him a successor ; and the prior of Capua seemed to stand fairest to be elected. It had for a long time been the object of his wishes ; and, in order to carry his point, he had gained several of the electors, who, when they met in the chapter, did not fail to set forth his courage, his valour, his great skill in military affairs and experience in command, with great elogiums. But Vagion, or Gagnon, the great conservator, and one of the principal electors, rising up, spoke as follows to the rest of the committee : “ If, says he, in
“ the choice we are obliged to make, we were only
“ to chuse a great general, I don’t think we could in
“ justice refuse giving our votes for the prior of Capua :
“ but our present business is not barely to pitch upon
“ an head full of valour, but on one who may be a com-
“ mon father to our whole body, one who may be
“ void of all spirit of party, who shall be equally in-
“ dustrious to procure us the favour of all the princes
“ of Christendom, and, above all things, to take care not
“ to engage the order in their disputes : and this is
“ what I dare not hope from the prior of Capua. You
“ know, says he, his passion for the liberty of his
“ country, a passion to which Philip Strozzi his father
fell

“ fell the first victim ; if we should put him at our
 “ head, when he sees himself master of our ships and
 “ gallies, ought we not to apprehend that he will find
 “ out some pretence or other, to turn all the forces of
 “ the order against the house of Medicis ; and that,
 “ with a view of revenging his father’s death, he will
 “ fall upon their fleets, and destroy all the coast of
 “ Tuscany with fire and sword ? In consequence of
 “ which, the emperor, who considers the fortune and
 “ grandeur of Medicis as the work of his own
 “ hands, will not fail to make us answerable for all
 “ the enterprises of the grand master. Cosmo, too,
 “ the head of that family, a prince of excellent capa-
 “ city, will easily find out a way to revenge himself,
 “ and, in order to make a diversion, will raise us up
 “ enemies among the potentates of Italy his allies :
 “ nor is it improbable but that this new sovereign, who
 “ is looked upon to be the greatest politician of his
 “ age, and has correspondents and agents even in Con-
 “ stantinople, may bring all the forces of the grand
 “ seignior upon Malta : and if we should once make
 “ ourselves suspected and odious to the emperor, who
 “ is in possession of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily,
 “ from whence could we, in case we should be be-
 “ sieged, expect any succours against the infidels ?”

THIS speech of the elector, which love only, and a
 sincere attachment to the good of the order, had inspir-
 ed, made a great impression on the rest of the commit-
 tee. The commanders Pascatore and Bernardin Par-
 paille spoke with great force in favour of these reflecti-
 ons ; and even such as had secretly engaged themselves
 to the prior of Capua and had first declared in his fav-
 our, came over to Vagion’s opinion : they all exhort-
 ed each other mutually, and agreed to have no regard
 to any thing in the election they were going to make,
but the good of the order. They per-

CLAUDE DE LA SANGLE *sisted vigorously in this laudable reso-*
 lution ; in consequence of which, brother

CLAUDE DE LA SANGLE, a knight of
 the language of France, and grand hospitaller, was
 unanimously

unanimously elected their grand master. They chose him during his absence, and at a time when he was actually residing at Rome as ambassador of the order to the pope ; which is a manifest proof that there was no cabal, nor any party-interest in his election, and that the committee which made it had acted only from a principle of justice, and according to the dictates of their conscience. As soon as the news of his election came to Rome, the pope gave particular orders to the governor of the castle of St. Angelo, to proclaim it by the fire of all his artillery. A kind of public festival was kept in Rome on this occasion : most of the cardinals, the ambassadors, the principal prelates of the court, and the barons of Rome made their visits, and complimented the grand master in form. The pope sent his chamberlain to congratulate him on his new dignity : and when he came to the palace to take the usual oath of obedience, his holiness made him dine with him in public, and paid him all the honours that were due to his merit and dignity.

THE grand master, as soon as he had passed through the ceremonial, and had made the visits he was obliged to pay, prepared to set out for Malta. The gallies of the order, commanded by the prior of Capua, came to take him on board at Terracina, when they carried him to Sicily, and he entered the Faro di Messina on the 12th of December. Don John de Vega, viceroy of the island was waiting for him in that city with great impatience. They were both of them at the siege and taking of Mehedra, as was observed in the eleventh book ; ever since which time they had formed an intimacy, or rather a kind of correspondence between them, which was more polite than sincere. The Spaniard, who made pompous demonstrations as a proof of the satisfaction which his promotion gave him, designed to give him public testimonies of it, both at his entry into Messina, and during his stay there. However, that he might not be so profuse of the honours he intended to pay him, as to derogate in the least from his own dignity, he appointed some of

the ablest lawyers to examine into the rights and privileges of the grand masters, and the rank that was due to them. Oliveti, the king's advocate at Messina, quoted to him, on this occasion, a passage from Chastellane^a, a famous lawyer, who in his treatise of *The glory of the world*, speaking of ecclesiastical dignities, gives that of grand master the preference, before even the dignity of cardinal. The viceroy, strengthened by this authority, had, before the grand master's arrival, sent an express to the emperor, to desire his orders in relation to the conduct he should observe towards him. That prince let him know, by a nobleman of his court, whose name was d'Acunha, that he need not be afraid of exceeding in the honours he was to pay to the head of an order, which served as a bulwark to his dominions in Italy. But as the emperor never took one single step without some secret views of interest, he had directed his envoy to make some proposals in his name to the grand master, which we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel of this work.

THE viceroy being thus informed of the emperor's intentions, went up, at the head of the council, and the body of the gentry and magistrates of the city, to the admiral-galley of the order, to wait on the grand master on board his own ship; and, in order to do him more honour at their going out of it, he would needs walk alone immediately before the grand master, as he would have done before his own sovereign. This prince made his entry afterwards into Messina under the fire of the artillery, and with the garrison and townsmen under arms: he was lodged in the finest palace

* Crederem quod iste magnus magister Rhodi post papam præcedere deberet omnes patriarchas, cardinales, & alios pontifices ecclesiasticos; & cum videatur tantæ esse dignitatis cujus est patriarcha, quod post imperatorem, & alios principes, habentes jura imperii, ut sunt reges Franciæ & Hispaniæ, quod præcederet omnes principes recognoscentes superiorem, & non habentes jura imperii, puta reges subditos imperio, & quoscunque duces; habet enim sub se magnos principes, & est maxime honoratus.

lace of the city, and was received and served in that place, both at chapel and at his table, with the same honours as had been formerly paid to the antient kings of Sicily.

THE emperor's envoy, who was entrusted with his orders, congratulated him, in his master's name, on his new dignity; and in a private audience, which he had of him a few days after, he acquainted him with his instructions, and the proposals he had been ordered to make to him. The emperor's generals, as has been already observed, had, with the assistance of the knights of Malta, besieged and taken the town of Mehedia or Africa from Dragut the Corsair. But as this conquest lay at a great distance from the other dominions of the emperor, and that he was obliged to be at a vast expence in maintaining a large garrison in that place, his design was to engage the grand master to transport the whole convent thither, and to make it their settled habitation. He was more in hopes that the whole order, upon this new settlement, would interest itself in the defence of the fort of Goletta. and be a formidable support to his authority in the kingdom of Tunis, which was at that time a fief of the crown of Castile.

THE envoy, in order to bring this project to bear, had, in the audience which the grand master had granted him, assured him, that the emperor was sensibly affected with the loss that the order had sustained by the taking of Tripoli by the infidels; and that, in order to repair it, he was ready to give them the absolute property of that of Mehedia; a place, as he said, regularly fortified, and from whence the knights might extend their dominion by new conquests upon the continent of Africa; that as the taking of this place was owing to their valour, and that he himself had had so considerable a share in it, in case the order should remove its residence thither, he would justly be looked upon as the founder of this second Rhodes; and that by way of contribution to the expences necessary for the defence of the place, the emperor, who

always considered the interests of the order as his own, would assign them an annual pension of 72,000 livres, upon the revenues of Sicily, for ever.

THE grand master answered him, with great politeness, that he found on this occasion a fresh instance of the favours and the benevolence which his imperial majesty had constantly bestowed upon the order : but, that he might not engage himself unadvisedly in the affair, he told him, that he had no power to accept a proposal of such consequence, without the consent of the council : however, that if he would go along with him to Malta, the affair should be debated there in his presence, when he should see the sincere desire he had of obliging the emperor in all his demands.

THE grand master, attended with this ambassador, and a strong guard of Italian knights, went on board the galleys of the order, and, doubling cape Passaro, arrived safe in the channel of Malta, and landed in the road of St. Paul. As he drew near the Notable city, which was at that time the capital of that island, they proposed to him to enter into it : but as his election to the grand mastership gave him authority over the knights only, it was necessary for him to have a particular grant from the complete council, before he could exercise any over the inhabitants and subjects of the order ; for which reason, he put off his entry into that city till another time. The council soon passed the acts which were necessary for the establishing of his authority over the whole island ; and he was in a few days proclaimed prince of Malta and Goza with great solemnity.

HIS first care, after he had taken possession of his dignity, was to give audience to the emperor's ambassador. This ceremony was performed in full council. The grand master, in order to honour the emperor in the person of his minister, advanced some steps to meet him, made him sit down by his chair, and desired him to acquaint the house with the subject of his commission. D'Acunha presented his credentials, and, after the reading thereof, he represented to the council
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great affection which the emperor bore the order ; that after the taking of Rhodes, when he saw them abandoned by most of the Christian princes, and wandering up and down the various provinces of Italy, he could not help being touched with their deplorable circumstances ; upon which he generously parted with the isles of Malta and Goza, to gratify the knights ; a noble present, says he, and worthy the piety of that great prince : that their loss of Tripoli had given him new concern ; he therefore, out of a desire he had of repairing the damage they had sustained, had sent him on purpose to make them an offer of the town of Africa, or Mehedia, a place situated on the coast of Barbary, strongly fortified, and which lay very convenient for the enlarging their conquests on the continent. He went on to observe, that as the soil of Malta was barren, and incapable of bearing corn, the order was forced to be sending continually beyond sea to distant countries, to fetch it from those places for their subsistence ; whereas, in the territory about Africa, they would meet with very fruitful tracts of land, which abounded with all kinds of corn. He concluded his discourse, with intreating the knights to consider, that the island of Malta was in want of fortified places, and that in case the grand seignior should send a fleet and an army to make a descent, and lay siege to the principal fortrefs, as the order had reason to fear ; they would certainly, in spite of all their valour, be forced to submit to the same unhappy fate which had attended them at Rhodes.

THE grand master, after thanking the emperor for the continuation of his favours, asked the assembly what was their opinion of the proposal : these, before they came to a final determination in the affair, resolved unanimously to send eight old commanders to Africa, to take a view of the situation of the place, the strength and the extent of the territory about it. These commissioners set out immediately ; and upon their return, reported to the council, that the place was built upon a neck of land that jutted out into the sea, which sur-

rounded it on three sides; that it was of a large extent, and was very considerable on account of the great number of houses in it, and the strength of its fortifications; that the town and castle were surrounded with very high walls, of an extraordinary thickness, and flanked with towers well provided with artillery; that there was an arsenal in it stored with a great number of cannon; that nothing was wanting but a good harbour for the security of great ships; that the outworks of the place, and the adjacent rising grounds, were beautified with an agreeable variety of country seats, orchards and vineyards, and that all the arable ground in the territory terminated in a mountain which crosses it from east to west, and that behind it they had a prospect of vast plains and pasture grounds belonging to the Arabs of the country, which was generally covered with their flocks and herds of cattle that were grazing there.

THE commissioners declared further, that a place of such vast extent could never be maintained without keeping a large garrison constantly in it, to defend it against the princes and people of Africa, who would never suffer the order to settle quietly so near their dominions; so that they must expect to be daily fighting with the Arabs, who made incursions up to the very gates of the city: that in case of a siege they could have no room to hope for any speedy succour, considering its great distance from Europe: that it was neither agreeable to the design of their institution, nor consistent with the good of Christendom, to abandon, as it were, the sea, and the defence of all Christian ships, to make war within land, and encroach upon the frontiers of their neighbours; whereas their predecessors, though much more powerful than they were, had never attempted to enlarge their territories by conquests, which generally clash with justice; and that since that of Rhodes, which they had taken from the corsairs, the order had never employed its forces, but for the assistance of Christian princes, or for the security and defence of such private persons as frequented the Mediterranean. This report, made by old experi-
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enced officers, and knights full of the warmest zeal for the discipline of their order, determined the council to continue at Malta. The considerations which chiefly prevailed upon them to take this resolution were, the distance of the place from Europe, the difficulty of the passage thither, and the reluctance which the princes and nobility of Christendom would probably have, to see their children, upon their being admitted into the order, confined, as it were, in the deserts of Africa. Upon which, the order dispatched two deputies to the emperor, and prevailed with him to approve of their conduct ; notwithstanding which, the viceroy of Sicily still resented it, and, by way of revenge, prohibited the exportation of the corn with which the convent was usually supplied from that island. But in order to pacify him, the grand master and council having advice that its coasts were infested by a great number of corsairs, who had appeared before Palermo, sent five gallies thither well provided, under the command of the prior of Capua. Strozzi prepared to set sail immediately, considering himself at sea as in his own element ; but he was moreover pushed on by another circumstance, which was, that he found he was looked upon with a less favourable eye at Malta, ever since the death of the conservator Gagnon, and the commanders Pascatore and Bernardin ; Parpaille, one of his principal domestics, and who had the greatest share of his confidence, being suspected of having poisoned them all three, out of revenge for their having thrown out his master at the last election. This made him depart in a good deal of hurry.

HE was scarce arrived at Palermo when he received private letters from Peter Strozzi his eldest brother, giving him advice of his being entrusted with the command of the French army in Italy, and of his being desired by the king of France to solicit him to resume, at the same time, his former employment of the general of his gallies. He urged further, that they could never meet with a more favourable opportunity for revenging their father's death ; that they might act in

concert

concert by sea and land ; for which reason, he begged him to sacrifice his private resentments against the ministers of France, to the love and liberty of their country. Notwithstanding the disgust which the prior had entertained against the court of France, it yet was overruled by the pressing instances which his brother made, and gave way to the violent hatred he retained in his heart against Cosimo de Medicis. He made no other answer to his brother, than that he would be with him soon. The difficulty was to get out of the port of Palermo without giving the viceroy any jealousy, or affording him any reason to guess at his design.

WHETHER it were, that the king of Spain had been informed by his Spies, that the command of the gallies of France was designed for the prior ; or that he only surmised, upon seeing his brother going to command in Italy, that he would not fail to use all his endeavours to engage the prior on the same side, this prince had sent private orders to the viceroy of Sicily, to keep a strict watch over the prior, in case he came into any port of the island, and to seize him upon the least token he should discover of any intelligence that was between the two brothers. He was but just arrived at Palermo, when he discovered, (through the thick disguise of civilities which the viceroy affected to shew him,) an air of uneasiness, that convinced him he was observed and suspected by him ; in order therefore to get out of his hands, he sent out one of his officers, in whom he most confided, very early in the morning, in a light brigantine, under pretence of going to look out along the coasts of the island, with orders to return after he had been some hours at sea ; and without bringing his brigantine into the harbour, to come directly to the viceroy's, and tell him, in his presence, however he might find him, that he had descried three Moorish galliots in a safe road not far off. The prior, after he had dismissed the officer, waited upon the viceroy in his palace, where he was to dine ; and before they sat down to table, all the subject of his discourse,

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ran upon the ill offices he had received from the constable de Montmorency, as well as of the dangerous designs which that French nobleman had, as he said, formed against his life, and the passionate desire he had to be revenged of him, if ever he found an opportunity : and in order to justify his resentments, shewed him several letters which he had received out of France, wherein some of his friends, who were not let into the secret of the king's intentions, gave him advice not to put into any port of that kingdom, if he were not desirous of being arrested.

THIS seeming confidence imposed upon the viceroy, who gave into the snare, and, with a view of getting him into the emperor his master's service, exaggerated the ingratitude of the French ; and assured him, that whenever he should quit the command of the gallies of the order, he would find, at the court of Spain, employments worthy his birth and valour. They were now set down at table, when, in the middle of the entertainment, the officer whom the prior had sent to sea, came into the room, and told him in a great hurry, that he had discovered some galliots of corsairs in a creek, and that provided he made haste, they might easily be surpris'd. The prior rose up suddenly with a specious air of satisfaction, and turning to the viceroy, " I'll give you a good account of them, says " he to him, and hope to bring them into you before " you rise from table."

THE gallies under his command being all ready, he sail'd out of the harbour and put to sea, keeping off from the coast ; and as soon as he was out of sight, he tacked about and stood for Malta, where he landed without any obstacle. Upon his return, he resigned the generalship of the gallies, which perhaps might have been owing to his having been, ever since the death of the conservator and the two commanders, become suspected and odious to their relations and friends ; and the commander Parrifot de la Valette was appointed to succeed him. The prior having laid down that employment, gave out that he would go try his fortune

in cruising with his own two gallies, and a third which belonged to his brother ; and that he was resolved to make war on his own account, upon all the corsairs he should meet with. Several young knights of all nations offered themselves to follow him, engaged to it by his reputation ; which was so great, that all young people in general were for learning the arts of navigation under so excellent a captain. He received such as offered themselves on board his gallies, and immediately sailed out of the port ; but when he came off of Goza, he acquainted them with his design, telling them, that he was going to command the French army ; but that if any of them, from any just reason, might not think it proper to accompany him in that expedition, he then was ready to give them boats to carry them back to Malta. Some Spanish and Italian knights left him, as being subjects of the king of Spain ; the rest, who were bound by no such considerations, resolved to follow his fortune, and he never failed to find soldiers, wherever there were men, whose minds were susceptible of that glory which is to be acquired by arms.

He afterwards stood away for the coast of Tuscany, and landed at Portercole. The French were in possession of it, and the duke de Somme, who commanded for them in Grosfuto, came to join him with a body of infantry. The gallies of Provence were ordered to the same place, to act under his command. Whilst the prior was waiting for their coming up, he, in order not to let his men lie idle, formed a design to seize on a small place in the neighbourhood called *Scarline*, lying within the territory of Piombino, and would needs, as was his usual custom, go and reconnoitre it himself ; but he approached so near, that a peasant, who lay snug among some rushes, knowing him by the tallness of his stature, and by the boldness of his coming on, fired at him, and wounded him with a musket-ball in the side : he was immediately carried on board his gallies, and the next day to Castillon de Piscaya, where he died a few days afterwards. He was a nobleman whom we
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may justly rank among the greatest captains of his order; and his very enemies gave out, that, had he been only less haughty, he would justly have deserved to have been raised to that rank, which he well merited by his uncommon valour. His great spirit indeed would not suffer him to submit to the authority of men, whom he looked upon as the mere creatures of fortune and favour. He was buried in the great church of Portercole; and the duke of Florence recovering that place the year following, the general of his troops had inhumanity enough to dig up his body and throw it into the sea: a scandalous kind of vengeance, that redounded as much to the prior's glory, as to the reproach of so mean-spirited an enemy.

LA VALETTE, the new general of the gallies of Malta, put to sea as soon as he was in possession of his post, and in a little time grew terrible to the corsairs of Barbary, whom he drove away from the coasts of Sicily and Naples, having taken several of them, and returned into the ports of the island with a good number of prizes. The richest commanders, encouraged by this success, fitted out privateers for cruising, and the private knights engaged themselves in these private armaments, according as their interest or inclinations led them. The continual war which the order made upon the infidels, the frequent ravages upon their coasts, the taking of such numbers of corsairs and merchant ships, and the security which their succours gave to the commerce of the christians, drew upon them the resentment of the grand seignior; and a report was spread abroad, that Solyman intended to attack them in Malta, and had boasted that he would drive them out of that island, as he had done about forty years before from that of Rhodes. But some expeditions which he made into Asia, and the civil wars that rose up in his lifetime between his children, diverted his arms for some time another way. The grand master, however, in order to prevent a surprise, ordered the new general of the gallies to put to sea again, and get up all the corn and warlike stores he could meet with in the
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ports of Sicily, and along the coasts of Italy : with these he filled the public magazines ; and we are also told, that the general scoured the sea up to the very mouth of the Nile, and carried off from thence three ships laden with corn for Constantinople and Egypt.

WHILST the general, and other privateers, were thus bringing prizes and provisions into the island of Malta, the grand master was employed in adding new fortifications to the fort of St. Elmo, to the isle of St. Michael, and the town, the ordinary residence of the convent. He sunk and widened the ditches, and ordered a spur or counterfort to be raised to strengthen the fort of St. Elmo ; but the greatest expence he was at, and which indeed appeared the most necessary, was that which was laid out upon the isle of St. Michael. This narrow piece of land, which run out into the sea, was open on all sides, and had only a little castle for its defence. The grand master built thick walls about that part of the castle which lies over against the rock of Corradin, fortifying them with bulwarks, and bastions, with proper flanks in several places, and brought the sea water into the ditch and raised all these fortifications with his own money, he being a man who had never given into any expence, but what contributed to the security and defence of the place. By way, therefore, of acknowledgement for his great disinterestedness, and for the benefits which thereby accrued to the order, the knights gave his name to that peninsula, which was before called the isle of St. Michael, but which went ever after by the name of the isle de la Sangle.

BY his generous cares, and the valour of the knights, Malta grew every day more flourishing ; when, upon the 22d of September, this general prosperity was suddenly interrupted by an unexpected accident. There arose in the harbour, about seven o'clock in the evening, a terrible hurricane, such as the seamen call a *gust of wind*, or *whirlwind*, and the modern Greeks *Syphon*. This storm, which was occasioned by the violence

lence and shock of several contrary winds that met together, swelled the waves, sunk several vessels, drove others ashore, shattered the brigantines and galliots to pieces ; and, what was still more deplorable, turned four galleys upside-down, with their keels in the air, so that most of the officers, the soldiers, and the crew, were either drowned, or crushed to pieces by the weight of the vessels. The houses next the port were, in a moment, swallowed up, together with their inhabitants ; the castle of St. Angelo itself trembled and shook ; the great piece of wood, to which the standard of the order was fixed, was torn up, and carried half a mile off. The violence of the wind, the torrents of rain that fell from the sky, and the waves of the sea, which appeared either swelled into mountains, or lost in devouring gulphs, seemed to threaten Malta with utter destruction ; when, in less than half an hour, this dreadful storm ceased as suddenly as it had risen, and calm and fair weather appeared at once ; so that had it not been for the dismal havock of the houses which were blown down, and of the ships that had lost their masts, and were dashed to pieces, one could scarcely have believed, that the port, which was then so quiet, had been, but a moment before, the theatre of such a dreadful revolution.

THE grand master no sooner heard of it but he immediately repaired thither, with most of the knights of the convent ; and though the storm still continued, he did all that lay in his power to assist such as could not swim, and to take up the floating bodies of those who were drowned ; but as the night was coming on, they were obliged to wait till the next day, in order to raise up the galleys, and set them afloat. The return of day light shewed them this dismal spectacle in all its horror : above six hundred persons, knights, officers, soldiers, and slaves, were either drowned or crushed to pieces by the overturning of the galleys ; and they found in the soldiers pockets the money which they had received for their pay the day before. The grand master hearing a noise that came from a galley that was

overturned, ordered a hole to be made in it, and some planks to be taken away ; the first thing that appeared was a monkey, who immediately leaped out ; then they drew out the chevalier de l'Escut, who was afterwards so famous under the name of Romegas, and several other knights, who had been all night up to the chin in water, clinging to the bottom of the keel with their hands, where they had scarce air enough to breathe. They were taken out of this dismal place, when they found them pale and benumbed with cold, and rather dead than alive, most of them fainting away as soon as they were exposed to the open air. All possible care was used for their relief ; and as soon as they came to themselves, they went immediately to the next church to return thanks to God for their preservation. The grand master set to work immediately about raising up and refitting the gallies ; they found that the largest of them was entirely ruined, and that it would be impossible ever to make it fit for service again ; the rest were repaired, but at a vast expence. The treasury furnished all the galley slaves they had ; and, to make up their complement, several peasants of the island offered themselves voluntarily to serve as rowers on board : some Christian princes, and all the commanders who had money and credit, exerted themselves in a suitable manner to repair so considerable a loss. The grand master, in order to set them an example, built a galley at his own expence in the port of Messina ; and the pope, who was greatly concerned at this terrible disaster, generously supplied it with a crew of slaves taken out of his prisons, and criminals who had been condemned by the secular arm.

PHILIP II. king of Spain, considering Malta as the bulwark of Sicily and his Italian dominions, made the order a present of two gallies well provided. Philip du Broc, an old knight of the language of Provence, and prior of St. Gilles, gave the order a great gallion, which the commander Paschal du Broc, his nephew, carried to Malta, laden with ammunition and provisions, with a good number of soldiers on board, and

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completely fitted out for the sea service. Francis de Lorraine, grand prior of France, arrived about the same time in the harbour with two gallies, who, out of zeal for his order, was come to offer his service to the grand master. This young prince heightened afterwards, on several occasions, the reputation of valour, which seems to be hereditary in his illustrious family. The order, by reason of the prodigious loss it had sustained, stood in great want of these several succours; and the rather, because the corsairs of Barbary, in hopes of making their advantage of this disaster, infested the coasts of the island, and often kept the port in a manner blocked up. Above all, Dragut, that formidable enemy of the order, thinking he should find their forces in disorder, appeared off Malta with seven gallies well supplied with land forces, and, putting them on shore, ravaged the open country, taking a great number of prisoners; but before he had time to reembark, the commander Lewis de Lastic, of the language of Auvergne, and grand marshal of the order, fell upon him with a body of 300 knights, cut part of the corsairs to pieces, recovered the prisoners and the booty, and forced Dragut to make the best of his way to his ships. To revenge the insult, the prince of Lorraine immediately put out to sea with his own gallies, and two others belonging to the order, scoured all the coast of Barbary in his turn, came up with a brigantine of Assanbaly's, a famous corsair, between Malta and Tripoli, which he took; gave chase to Uluchialy; took from him a galley and galiot; and, before he returned back to the harbour of Malta, made prizes of two other vessels, laden with salt and various kinds of merchandize.

By the valour of this prince, and the resolution of their privateers, the order had recovered the same superiority in those seas, which it had enjoyed before the fury of the hurricane had been felt at Malta, when there happened a new accident, which caused a great disturbance, and gave rise to very unhappy dissensions in the society. In order to give the reader a right

notion of this dispute, in which the pope and the greatest princes of Europe interested themselves, 'twill be necessary to observe, that upon the prior of Capua's death, seignior Strozzi his brother had taken possession of his gallies as his own property, of which one indeed had always belonged to him; but as he was at the head of a land army, he could not command his gallies in person, and had therefore joined them to some French gallies that were in the port of Civita-Vecchia, under the command of the chevalier Sforza, prior of Lombardy, and brother to the cardinal of that name, high chamberlain to the pope. The king and Strozzi imagined that their gallies were very safe in that place; but the prior of Lombardy having quitted the French service at that time, to enter into that of Spain, in order to make himself more considerable in the new party in which he had engaged himself, he took his measures so well, in concert with the high chamberlain, whose dignity gave him a great authority in all the territories of the church, that he carried off two of the king's gallies, and brought them into the port of Naples; and, by his solicitations, and a like act of treachery, one Moret de Niffard, a native of Piedmont, seized on one of Strozzi's gallies, and retired with it into the harbour of Villa-Franca, where the duke of Savoy gave him his protection, and allowed him to set up his flag.

SUCH a notorious robbery, in breach of his oath, was a great blemish to the prior of Lombardy's honour, and raised the anger and resentment of the pope. Paul IV. was at that time in the papal chair, and had the government of the church in his hands, but was himself governed by one of his nephews, a knight of Malta, whom, upon his accession to the popedom, he had dignified with the Roman purple by the name of cardinal Caraffa. The uncle and nephew were actually at that very time negotiating a league with France against Spain; so that besides the violation of the sovereignty of the church by this outrage, it was their interest to persuade the king that they had no hand in
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it. In order to this, they arrested cardinal Sforza, whom they threw into a loathsome prison, and threatened to put him to death, in case the French king's gallies were not immediately sent back to the port, from whence they had been carried off in so clandestine a manner. The prior, who knew the cardinal nephew's violent temper, sent them back immediately; and was forced, in order to procure his brother's liberty, to give 200,000 crowns security, that he should not stir out of Rome without the privity of the pope and his nephew. But they found it a more difficult matter to get back Strozzi's galley, which Moret had carried into the port of Villa-Franca; for, in order to elude the complaints and instances of the pope, the duke of Savoy sent it into the Levant, with his own flag, and a commission under his great seal. Cardinal Caraffa and Strozzi, thirsting to take revenge for so treacherous an action, no sooner heard of Moret's being at sea but they sent another galley after him, under the command of a French captain, called Fouroux, an excellent sea officer, devoted to the family of Strozzi, recommending to him at the same time, to employ cunning as well as valour, in order to recover the galley out of his hands. Fouroux, the better to conceal the design of his voyage, went first to Malta, where he obtained the grand master's leave to go a cruising in concert with his gallies, and under the flag of the order; upon which he sailed out of the harbour, in company with the admiral galley, and had not been long at sea, before he met the galley he was in quest of. Moret, who commanded her, taking the galley where Fouroux was on board for the admiral of the order, saluted her, got into his long boat, and went on board her, in order to talk with the general: but how great was his surprise, when he found himself in the power of one of Strozzi's officers! He was immediately arrested and put in irons; and Fouroux afterwards coming up with his galley, as if he had brought back the captain, the officers and soldiers, not mistrusting any thing, suffered him to approach; so that he

1557.

entered the galley, and made himself master of it, before they were so much as sensible that they had received their enemy on board.

THE general of the galleys of Malta, highly incensed to see the flag of the order made use of to surprise the galley of a Christian prince, threatened to fight Fouroux, in case he did not release her immediately, and set Moret at liberty : but Fouroux shewing him positive orders for that purpose from the king, and an express commission from the pope, the first superior of the order, he did not think fit to take upon him to determine so critical an affair ; but having made Fouroux agree to follow him with his prize to Malta, they came a few days after before the port. The French captain immediately sent his commissions to the grand prior of France, and drew up a memorial, in which he gave him a particular account of the trick that Moret had played seignior Strozzi. The prince of Lorraine, having laid them before the grand master, obtained leave for Fouroux to enter the harbour with his own galley and his prize. These two galleys being entered into the port, captain Moret applied himself to the knights of Savoy and Piedmont, making bitter complaints that the flag of the order had been made use of to surprise a galley which belonged to their sovereign, and that only out of resentment at his alliance with Spain. These knights immediately presented a petition to the council in his name, and the viceroy of Sicily used all his credit to support it. They likewise procured some merchants of Ragusa, and of the isle of Scio, to demand the cargo found on board Moret's galley, as being their property ; and the officers of the treasury put in their claim for the galley, as being part of the prior of Capua's personal estate, to which the order had a right to succeed. These different interests and pretensions caused grievous divisions in the convent, every one siding with his own language and nation. The council, whose views and actions ever tended to the common good of the order, could not help blaming the grand master for having suffered the two galleys in dispute

pute to enter the harbour without their privy ; a step that had involved them in a troublesome affair, the decision of which they could have wished had been wholly left to the princes whom it concerned. However, as there was no recalling what had passed, and that the two captains had each of them a strong party in Malta, the council appointed commissioners to examine into the claims and pretensions of both. Moret complained of his having been imposed upon, by the confidence which he had reposed in the gallies of the order ; and that that which belonged to the prince his master had been taken from him by treachery and surprise : he therefore demanded that it should be restored to him, employing at the same time the most pressing instances. Fouroux, not owning the authority of the council, gave himself no trouble about his defence ; so that he only produced his commissions, and said, that what he had done was in obedience to the pope's orders, in execution of which, he had retaken a galley that belonged to his holiness, and which had been scandalously carried off by Moret in the sight of all Italy ; and that in case the order did not think fit to punish that robber, the pope knew how to do himself justice, even upon those, who, out of politic considerations, and in opposition to the obedience which they owed him, should refuse to take notice of so flagrant a robbery.

IT appearing upon proof, that the galley in dispute had been carried off out of the pope's harbours, the council ordered Moret, who had managed that affair, to be arrested, but left Fouroux only in the custody of the grand prior ; who, upon his giving his parole, answered readily for keeping him. The grand master immediately dispatched an ambassador to the pope, to receive his orders in relation to this dispute ; and wrote at the same time to the king of Spain, and his ministers in Italy, to acquaint them also with it. The pope and the king of France demanded by concert, that Fouroux should be sent to them with his prize, and the robber be delivered into their hands, to be punished by
 martial

martial law. There was no disputing the pope's authority; they were forced to obey, and send back the galley to the port of Civita-Vecchia, and the cargo was restored to the owners. As for Moret, they kept him for some time in prison; but at last, out of regard to the king of Spain, they let him make his escape, which the council was glad to connive at; and the duke of Medina Celi, then viceroy of Sicily, sent a brigantine upon the coast to take him on board. The council examined witnesses about his escape, and sent an account of it to the pope, who, after the restitution of his galley, seemed to be well enough satisfied.

NOTWITHSTANDING that this affair had been managed and terminated with great prudence, nevertheless the division it occasioned in the convent, and the reproaches which dropped from the council with regard to the grand master's conduct in it, gave him so sensible a concern, that it threw him into a fit of sickness, followed by a languishing state of

August 18. health and soon after by a death truly
1557. Christian. He would not dispose of any of

his effects, though he had obtained leave to do so from a general chapter; and, notwithstanding the great sums he had laid out in fortifying the isle of Malta, he nevertheless left upwards of sixty thousand crowns behind him. The council could not but admire a spirit so nobly disinterested; and, to shew their sense of it, sent twelve thousand livres into France, to augment the portion of mademoiselle de Mont-Chanar his niece. They founded, pursuant to the intention of the deceas'd, a mass for ever in the chapel of the castle of St. Angelo; and laid out part of the money in ornaments for the church of the convent, of crimson velvet embroidered with gold, on which they put the grand master de la Sangle's arms, as a monument both of his piety, and of the gratitude of the order.

THERE was no great difficulty in the choice of a successor; the bailiff of Lions, nephew to the marshal Vallier, had indeed some votes at first, notwithstanding

ing that he was absent ; but no sooner had one of the electors proposed the command- JOHN DE LA VALETTE, but all the votes DE LA united in his favour. This nobleman had VALETTE. never left Malta since the time of his re- August 21. ception into the order, and had gradually 1557. filled up all the offices of it ; he had been a soldier, a captain, a general, an able politician, firm in his resolutions, and as much esteemed among the knights as formidable to the infidels. The order, under his administration, recovered its antient authority, which had been much impaired in some provinces of Germany, and in the territories of the republic of Venice.

EVER since the time that the Hussites had ruined most of the commanderies of Bohemia, the common treasury of the order could never draw any thing from that kingdom, and the adjoining provinces. They had been engaged in continual wars either in Hungary, or in the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria ; which following close upon the insurrections raised by the Hussites, had interrupted the payment of the responsions, which the knights of that country were obliged to send either to Rhodes or Malta ; and the priors of those large provinces had assumed to themselves a right of nomination to the commanderies that fell vacant within their respective priories. The grand master, unable to suffer abuses which he saw were growing up into customs, and, which would in time plead a right of prescription, wrote about it in the strongest terms to those provinces ; and, in order to put an end to them the more effectually, he applied himself to the emperor, and to Ferdinand king of the Romans his brother. These princes, who knew what an excellent use the order made of its revenues, signified to the several priors and commanders whose commanderies lay within their territories, that it was their intention, they should give entire satisfaction to the grand master. The German knights met in a chapter, and immediately dispatched away Wenceslas de Hesse-Assemburg, prior of

of Bohemia; Sigisfund Romer, commander of Mielberg; and Henry de Rietchenau, commander of Estugna, as their deputies to Malta; who, in the name of all the knights of their language, took the oath of obedience to the grand master; promised to pay their responsions, and the taxes which should be laid upon their provinces by general chapters; and, by an instrument in form, in the name of all the priors of Germany, made a solemn renunciation of all manner of right to dispose of the commandries within their respective priories, one only excepted, which, according to the general custom of the whole order, they had a privilege of conferring once in five years.

THE Venetian commanders, by virtue of the protection which the senate gave them, were for following the example of the Germans, in getting themselves excused from paying their responsions, under pretence that they served their country against the Turks. But as these kinds of contributions were employed only in armaments against the infidels, the grand master represented the duty they owed, and their primary obligations, in so clear a light, and demanded their obedience with so much resolution and authority, that they all submitted to his orders, and a little after sent their responsions to Malta, as did likewise the Germans; both of which were ever afterwards regularly paid.

AFTER this regulation, which related to the provinces, and as it were the out parts of the convent, the grand master undertook an affair, which once had made a great noise at Malta, and indeed over all Europe; but which, like the greatest events, now grown so out of date that it was talked of no more. The marshal de Vallier, governor of Tripoli, whom the grand master d'Omèdes had prosecuted with so much vigour, was still living; and this old commander, whom before that unhappy affair, most of the knights intended to have chosen for their grand master, was then pining away in obscurity, but which suited his misfortunes. 'Tis indeed true, the grand master de la Sangle had set him at liberty; but various considerations, and the tender-

nels and regard which he thought himself obliged to shew to the memory and friends of d'Omedes, had hindered him from restoring him to his honours.

BUT the grand master de la Valette, being naturally more intrepid, and thoroughly persuaded of the marshal's merit and good conduct, thought it his duty to do him justice; and, after having taken an exact review of the proceedings against him, and made an impartial enquiry into the merits of the case, he cleared him of the unjust accusations which his enemies had brought to blacken him, conferring upon him at the same time, the title of grand bailiff of Lango, as an attestation, and the seal of his innocence. He did not stop here; but that he might revenge him, and the whole order, for the insults and ill treatment they had met with from the infidels at the taking of Tripoli, he entered into a project, which John de la Creda, duke of Medina-Celi, viceroy of Sicily, had proposed to him for the recovery of that place.

DRAGUT was at that time in possession of it. This famous corsair, not succeeding in his views of obtaining from the Sultan the title of basha, and the post of lord high admiral of his empire, a dignity which had been conferred on Barbarossa, had resigned the sangiacship of Santa Maura; and, under pretence of zeal for master's service, and of defending the coasts of Africa against the incursions of the knights of Malta, had contented himself with the title of governor of Tripoli: but as the place lay at a vast distance from the porte, it was in reality a kind of little principality, which he governed with an authority that was in a manner absolute, altho' he, in order to continue himself the benefit of the grand seignior's protection, affected to shew himself entirely subservient to all his orders.

THIS corsair, ever since his settlement in Tripoli, had wholly employed himself in repairing its walls and in fortifying them with ramparts, designing to make it his place of arms, and the seat of his dominion. He had taken care to strengthen the fortifications with several bastions, and with all the works which the ground
would

would admit of, or that art had invented at that time. Nor was the castle less strongly fortified; and notwithstanding that its situation was not very advantageous, he, by his continual pains, and a prodigious expence, had made it one of the strongest fortresses of Africa. The entrance of the port was secured by great towers, and well provided with artillery, so that it served for a secure retreat to the vessels of Dragut, and other corsairs who cruized under the grand seignior's flag; and 'twas from hence that all those infidel rovers sailed, who infested the coasts of Sicily and Naples, and insulted even those of Spain.

THE new viceroy of Sicily, in order to signalize his accession to that dignity, formed a scheme for besieging Tripoli; and, the better to carry his point, he endeavoured to engage the grand master in it: nor did he find it a difficult matter, to bring him into a design which was calculated to destroy that nest of pirates. They, by concert, wrote to Philip II. king of Spain, upon this subject; who, tho' he was not a very warlike prince, yet, as the security of his coasts, and the tranquility of his subjects were concerned in it, and that moreover he was apprehensive lest Dragut should attempt to reduce Goletta, approved a project which came recommended by the grand master's approbation; of whose valour and capacity he was highly sensible, and whose knights were to share in the expence and the dangers of the enterprize.

PHILIP sent orders to the duke of Sessa, governor of the Milanese; to the duke of Alcala, who commanded in the kingdom of Naples; and to John 1559. Andrew Doria, general of his gallies, to join their forces, and transport them to Sicily. The general command of the army was given to the duke of Medina-Celi, with express instructions to follow the grand master's advice in the whole conduct of this enterprize. But as the three noblemen above mentioned, by their distance from court, had taken upon themselves to obey no farther than they thought proper, and being jealous withal of the authority which the king their master

master had vested in the viceroy of Sicily, they found out various pretences to retard the execution of his orders; so that Philip was at last forced to send the commander de Guimerans, an old knight who chanced to be at his court, into Italy, in order to hasten the march of these several bodies of troops, and to lead them to Sicily.

THE grand master, seeing it very late in the year, was for putting off the enterprize to the next spring, and wrote to the viceroy to that purpose; but as that nobleman was afraid lest the king should change his mind, or that some court-cabal should supplant him in a commission, which he fancied would afford him an opportunity of acquiring no little share of glory, he made all the haste he could to set out; when appointing the general rendezvous of the fleet in the island of Malta, he, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, came thither about the middle of December, where he was received with all the honours due to his dignity, and the potent monarch he represented. The troops he had brought with him were put into good quarters; and the grand master reviewed in his presence those he designed for the expedition: they consisted of four hundred knights of the order, and fifteen hundred men in their service, besides volunteers. The chevalier de Urre de Tessieres, a great captain, and at that time general of the gallies was made their commander in chief; and the grand master and council reposed so much confidence in his valour and experience, that they left him the choice of his lieutenant, and the officer he should substitute in his place, either to command the land-forces, in case he should think fit to keep always at sea; or to stay on board the gallies, in case he should take upon himself the command of the troops which were to form the siege.

THE viceroy thanked the grand master for this strong reinforcement, and was particularly overjoyed at the sight of that body of brave men, being no less than four hundred, who were to go on board all of them antient knights, that had grown old in the service.

Nor was he less edified with the charitable care, which the other knights afterwards took of his officers and soldiers that fell ill ; for during the two months that these foreign troops continued in the island, their sick were looked after, and attended with pious zeal, from which the order has never once deviated ever since its foundation.

IN fine, the Milanese and Neapolitan troops arriving at Malta in the beginning of February, several councils of war were held, in order to consider upon the operations of the campaign. The siege of Tripoli was, as we have said, the principal design of this armament ; but as the viceroy had been informed of the new fortifications which had been made to the place, and particularly that Dragut, a formidable commander, had thrown himself into it with all his best troops, and a prodigious quantity of ammunition and provisions, the dangers of the enterprize, and the uncertainty of the success, enervated his courage ; and as he was a much better courtier than a general, he proposed the conquest of the isle of Gelves, where he was in hopes of acquiring glory unattended with danger.

THE grand master readily agreed, that they indeed would meet with no great difficulties in reducing a small island, which was open on all sides, and which had no fortress in it, but one single castle that was but poorly fortified ; but he also represented at the same time, that what rendered it so exceeding weak, and made the conquest of it so very easy, would likewise make it impracticable for them to keep it, and thereby put the infidels, as soon as the fleet should be retired, upon making an attempt to recover it ; that the open country was peopled with Moors or Arabs, who would not fail to lay ambuscades in the forests of palm-trees, and hinder them in that dry country, from fetching water out of some wells which had been dug in the island ; that moreover there was some reason to fear lest the grand seignior's fleet, with which they were threatened, should come upon them, whilst they were in the midst of the enterprize, and sink their gallies : whereas, if they
could

could but reduce Tripoli, they should be secure in that port, and the banks of sand and flats, which lay along the coast thereabouts, would be of use to them against the great vessels of the Turkish navy.

THE viceroy, who thought his honour obliged him to adhere to his opinion, would not hearken to these reasons which were brought against it, but still maintained that he would reduce the island before such time as the grand seignior could be able to fit out a fleet, and send it to sea ; and that, in order to secure their conquest, they had nothing to do but to fortify the castle with four bastions, which would put both it and the whole island in a sufficient state of defence. The members of the council of war were divided between these two opposite opinions ; but as the greatest part of the officers had their dependence on the viceroy, very few durst declare themselves of a sentiment contrary to his. The grand master urged to him, that he, by changing the project and plan of the campaign, was going to act directly contrary to the intentions of the king his master, and the instructions which had been given him ; but all in vain ; la Cerda was obstinate, and adhered firmly to his opinion. La Valette, who foresaw the ill consequences which they might justly expect from this enterprize, told him plainly, that he might, if he pleased, employ his master's troops as he thought proper ; but that in case he laid aside the first project, which had been approved of by the king of Spain, and communicated to the council of the order, he would not suffer a knight to stir out of the island. The viceroy was vexed to find the grand master so resolute ; but not being able to pursue his designs without his reinforcement, he seemed to come over to his sentiments, and pretended to apply himself entirely to the first project. All the talk was now of the siege of Tripoli ; but as the grand master discovered, that he had still some doubt of the sincerity of his intentions, the viceroy, in order to remove his suspicions, swore in a solemn manner, by the life of the king his sovereign, and by the head of Gastion de la Cerda his son, a young

nobleman, whom he had brought along with him, that he would sail directly for Tripoli, which he promised to invest. This however was the farthest off his thoughts; but he resolved to conceal his real design, till such time as he should be out at sea, where he would have the sole direction of the army, and, in consequence of that, steer which way he should judge proper.

THE embarkation was made upon the tenth of February; the grand master put, over and above the troops of the order, two hundred Maltese pioneers on board, to serve at the siege of Tripoli. The chevaliers Flotte and de la Roche had the charge of the artillery that was to be put on shore; and the hospital for the sick and wounded officers and soldiers, was committed to the care of the commander Garcia de Contreras, with some other knights for his assistants. The Christian fleet steered away for the coast of Africa, and arrived at Seches de Querquene. The isle of Gelves had been always subject to its own princes; but Dragut, ever since his being settled in Tripoli under the grand seignior's authority, had made those petty sovereigns tributary to the porte. The corsair, as soon as he had advice of the viceroy's being off the island with his fleet, sailed thither with two gallies, and put into the channel of Cantara, of which mention has been already made in the eleventh book. The Christian general, spying these two gallies, detached a greater number to take them; but the commodore of the Christian gallies, seeing two merchant-ships coming from Alexandria, bore down upon them and took them, a thirst after booty making him neglect the pursuit of Dragut's two gallies. Whilst he was busy in plundering these vessels, Dragut with his gallies, got out of the channel, and dispatched one of them, commanded by the corsair Uluchiali, to give advice to the porte, that a strong fleet, composed of the squadrons of the king of Spain, and the knights of Malta, was ravaging the coast of Barbary, and threatened to lay siege to Tripoli. By the same express he desired that succours might be immediately sent him; during which, he, after having left orders for the defence

of

of the isle of Gelves, returned with as much diligence as he had come, and shut up himself in Tripoli. Solyman, as soon as he received the news, sent strict orders to all the ports of the Archipelago, to fit out immediately all such ships and galleys, as were in a condition to be put to sea : Cara Mustapha, his high admiral, who was to command the fleet, took the same care in the port of Constantinople.

IN the mean time, the viceroy was forced to land several times to take in fresh water, and never made a descent but he found the people of Gelves ready to oppose him. These, indeed, hated the Turks in their hearts, and were very uneasy under their yoke ; but this hatred gave way to the resentment which they conceived at the seizure of the merchant ships which belonged to them. Full of rage on that occasion, they fell upon the viceroy's detachments, and, in the skirmishes between them, Alvarez de Sande, one of the principal officers of the army, was wounded, and the Christians were forced to reembark with the loss of two hundred men, and five captains of foot. The fleet put to sea again, and made towards Tripoli, but stopped at the *Flats of Palo*, so called by reason of several currents, which sometimes leave that part of the sea dry. The viceroy came to an anchor near these currents, in expectation of the coming up of part of his troops, which could not set out from Malta with the body of the army : he landed some men on the neighbouring coast, to dig wells in several places. The water they met with here being clear and agreeable to taste, they carried a great quantity of it on board the fleet ; both officers and soldiers drinking of it with greediness : but experience soon shewed them its ill effects ; most of those who drank of it falling ill, and a great number of them died ; among whom were several of the most considerable knights of the order. Their fleet was at the same time attacked with a furious storm, and the admiral galley of Sicily, striking against the gallion of Malta, was shattered to pieces, and sunk to the bottom. These accidents, which are

common enough at sea, were only as so many preludes to a more deplorable misfortune.

THE viceroy, when the weather grew calm, proposed, in a council of war, the quitting of that station. The commander de Tessieres, pursuant to his instructions, proposed to him the going first to Languir, an healthy place, where there was good anchorage, and which lay very convenient for their passage to Tripoli; he represented further, that they, by taking that place, and particularly by being masters of the port, would thereby secure the fleet not only against storms, but also against the armada, which they said was coming from Constantinople; not to mention that the Moors and inhabitants of the country would declare themselves against the Turks with more confidence, when they should see the Christians masters of that place; and that after the reducing of Tripoli, that of Gelves would cost them but a visit.

BUT the viceroy, who was in no ways fond of difficult enterprizes, rejected the motion, under pretence that the winds were contrary. The officers who composed the council, being his dependants, durst not appear to be of a different opinion. Hereupon they returned to Gelves on the seventh of March; from whence the general of the Maltese gallies dispatched a frigate to the grand master, to give him an account of all that had passed; informing him at the same time, that the viceroy had not courage enough to advance to Tripoli.

THE Christians landed in the island without the least opposition, not a single Moor offering to dispute their descent: upon which, they advanced up into the country, to a place where there were some wells of fresh water, but they were filled up; when opening them, though with a great deal of difficulty, they found the water had a very bitter taste, occasioned by the great quantity of aloes-leaves which the people of Gelves had thrown into them. The Christian army encamped in this place; during which, some deputies, or rather spies, from the cheick, or lord of the island, arrived; who
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demanded an interview with the viceroy, under pretence of complaining of war having been made upon them without any occasion given on their part, or any declaration of it on his. They proposed in his name, that the army should quit the island, and that a conference should be held at la Rochette; where, they said, the Christians would find plenty of good water. The viceroy, without either directly accepting, or entirely rejecting this proposal, told them, that he was ready enough to enter into a conference with their master, but that it must be at the foot of the castle, whither he was going to set out immediately. These deputies, having by this means an opportunity of observing his forces, made their report of them accordingly to the cheick; who, finding it impossible for him to hold out so weak a place against a body of troops, considerable for their number as well as their experience, was disposed to capitulate. But his principal officers, and the young men, called out aloud for an engagement; and whether it were that he had a mind to try the fate of a battle before he came to a treaty; or that, perhaps, not having the inhabitants entirely at his command, he was not sorry that some loss and disappointment should make them more tractable for the future: be that as it will, he gave them a permission to do what it was not in his power to hinder. The Barbarians now sally out in a rage; and, thinking to surprise the Christians, advance with more impetuosity than order towards the camp. They failed however in their attempt, the viceroy having had notice from two Christian slaves, who had made their escape, that he should be attacked the next day. He did not think proper to wait for the coming up of his enemies; but, immediately marching his troops, he advanced in good order to meet them. The knights of Malta, with two companies of Germans, were in the van; the main battle was composed of 6000 Italians and Sicilians, and the rear of 3000 Spaniards. This was the order the little army observed in its march; when the people of Gelves, to the

number of about 2000, sallied out from behind an hill that covered them; and, rushing on with their usual shouts, attacked the vanguard sword in hand. But as they had neither horse, nor arquebusers, the knights, with one single fire of their muskets, killed a great number of them, and soon put all this multitude of peasants to flight. Upon this the Cheick, in order to prevent his own ruin, and the ravage of the island, entered into a treaty with the viceroy; delivered up to him the keys of the castle, acknowledged the king of Spain for his sovereign, and engaged to pay him tribute. La Cerda, all in raptures at his success, fell into extraordinary transports of joy. He boasted of his being the first general of his nation, who had made any conquest to enlarge the king his master's dominions, since his accession to the crown of Spain; and, in order to preserve such a monument of his valour, he resolved to build a fort there, in order to curb the fickle and mutinous temper of the Moors. This fortress, according to the plan he drew of it, was to be composed of four bastions: Andrew Gonzaga undertook the building of that which looked towards the east, as the knights of Malta did that which was of the opposite side, and which lay towards the west; the viceroy employed the Sicilian troops on that which lay southward; and John Andrew Doria, general of the gallies, set his crew to work on the last, which lay between that of the knights of Malta, and that of the viceroy. The side which ran from the west northward, was defended by the sea; and a thick wall, with good ramparts, was to enclose that side which ran from the north eastward.

THE knights, who had brought 200 pioneers, made a considerable progress in their work; but it went on heavily in other places, through the greediness of the soldiers, who, meeting with great plenty of wool and oil in the island, stole off from their work to run it privately on shipboard, being much more pleased with this employment than the laborious one of carrying earth and materials for the fort. Besides, both the
army

army and the fleet began to be again infested with distempers, occasioned by the excessive heats of the climate, by the noxious qualities of the air, by the bitterness of the water, and particularly by their feeding on a kind of long-tailed mutton, which proved very unwholesome. This threw John Andrew Doria into a fit of sickness, and proved the death of Quirico Spinola, and several knights; and so great a number of the men were afflicted with such a variety of distempers, that the commander de Tessieres, general of the galleys of the order, was obliged to give the grand master advice of their condition, and to desire his orders how to act. The grand master was greatly troubled at the ill news; and, as a long experience had made him well acquainted with the country, and the seas about it, he saw with infinite concern, that in case the viceroy should make longer stay in the island, he would probably be surprised by the Turkish fleet. He wrote Tessieres word, that he was entirely against the building a fort in such a barren place, which lay out of the way of all succours, and which, moreover, was without water, or any harbour for vessels to put into. At the same time he dispatched a knight to the king of Spain, to acquaint him of the danger to which the viceroy exposed his army by his too long stay in the island. He gave the like notice to la Cerda, by an express which he sent to Africa, sending orders at the same time to the commander de Tessieres, that in case the viceroy should be resolved to carry on his work, and stay in such a dangerous post, he then had no more to do but to take his leave, and return immediately to Malta, where his troops would be more serviceable, in case the Turks should think fit to make a diversion, and attack the isles of the order. A few days afterwards he dispatched a second express with advice, that he had just received an account of the grand seignior's having sent away forty galleys to relieve Tripoli, which he imagined was besieged; that this squadron was to be reinforced by twenty ships of the corsairs, and, at its coming off the coast of Barbary, was also to be joined
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by twenty-two others, under the command of Dragut ; and that there was a body of fresh troops on board the fleet, which, upon the junction of these several squadrons, would be much superior to that of the Christians, whose soldiers, being most on them in a sickly condition, would, for that reason, fall an easy prey to their enemies.

THE commander de Tessieres, and John Andrew Doria, laboured strenuously to engage the viceroy to quit his design for some time of building a fort, advising him to embark all his troops, and advance to meet the squadron of Constantinople in the Archipelago, and give the Turks battle before they should be joined by the galleys of the corsairs ; at the same time, representing to him, that they, after having defeated the grand seignior's fleet, might return into Barbary, and lay siege to Tripoli, the reducing of which place would secure that of the isle of Gelves. But the viceroy was so prepossessed by the passion he had to finish his work, and to leave a fortress of his own name in Africa, that he was deaf to all remonstrances on this subject, and imagined that their advice proceeded only from a secret jealousy of his glory ; so that it was impossible for them to get the better of his obstinacy. The commander de Tessieres seeing his ruin unavoidable, and most of the knights, soldiers and seamen, in a dying condition, took leave of him, and set sail with his troops, in order to return home. He lost in his passage nine knights more, who died of sickness ; and he himself expired a few days after his arrival. The greatest part of his soldiers, mariners and slaves, were swept away by the mortality ; insomuch, that those galleys were not, for a long time after, in a condition to put to sea.

THE grand master, having always the safety of the Christian fleet at heart, sent three other galleys to Africa, to supply their places, with a reinforcement of fresh troops on board, and manned with a new crew of slaves. The chevalier de Maldonat was to command at sea ; and the commander de Guimeran was general

neral of the land forces. This small reinforcement arrived at Gelves on the 27th of April, at the very time that two brigantines arrived from the viceroy of Naples's lieutenant ; who, fearing lest the Turks should make a descent in that kingdom, had sent them into Africa, to bring back the old Spanish soldiers, whom he thought necessary for the defence of the country. Upon the 10th of May, there arrived another brigantine from Malta, having the chevalier Hugh de Copones on board, whom the grand master had sent to Doria, with advice that the Turkish fleet, consisting of eighty-five gallies, had appeared 1560. off the coast of Goza the 7th of that month.

Doria, who was sick, sent his letters to the viceroy, acquainting him at the same time, that in case he did not immediately put his troops on board in the night time, and before day-break, it would be impossible for him to escape the formidable power of the Turks. But nothing could remove the viceroy's infatuation ; who, though he had no longer room to doubt of the arrival of the Ottoman fleet, still flattered himself that the admiral would go first to Tripoli to confer with Dragut, and that he, during that interval, would have time enough to embark his troops and artillery. Fatal was the event of this unseasonable obstinacy, the enemy's fleet appearing at day-break, under the command of Cara Mustapha ; Piali basha, the grand seignior's favourite, being general of the land forces. When Doria saw this fleet bearing down upon him in good order, he cried out ; “ Well ! the obstinacy of one man “ has ruined us all : but nevertheless, we shall have “ this satisfaction, that we shall not be vanquished “ without having foreseen our defeat.”

THE sight of the Turkish armada threw the Christian fleet into a terrible consternation and disorder. The mortality had swept away such a number of the seamen and soldiers, that the gallies were not half manned ; and in this confusion no body consulted any thing but his fears : they did not offer at an engagement, and every captain made the best of his way to get out of the

the reach of the artillery of the enemy. The Turks took twenty gallies, and fourteen great ships, with their crew, and all they had on board ; some other Christian gallies were detained for want of water, among the banks of sand, which they called *les Seches*, or *the Flatts* : these the infidels (manning their boats with soldiers) seized on without resistance. The commander de Maldonat seeing all the fleet routed and dispersed, and his own three gallies pursued by the enemies, behaved himself like a man of bravery and judgment ; and being as excellent a pilot, as he was a brave officer, he worked his vessels with so much art, and with so many feints, that, making as if he would run aground, he at last doubled the cape of Sphax, when tacking about to the right, he stood out to sea, and got safe to Malta.

THE Turks, seeing no enemy left to dispute the victory with them, celebrated it with a discharge of all their artillery, and other public demonstrations of joy ; resolving to land their troops the next day, to seize upon the island, and make slaves of all such Christians as should be left upon it. Whilst all the men on board their fleet were celebrating their conquests with shouts and acclamations, the viceroy, overwhelmed with trouble for his defeat, and ashamed and confounded at his not having followed Doria's advice, resolved to apply to him in this extremity ; and coming to his bedside, where he lay sick, “ Doria, says he, you who
 “ are the only person that has judged wisely on this
 “ occasion, what would you advise me to do ? Sir,
 “ replies Doria, as you are general of the land forces,
 “ ’tis your business to take such measures, as you
 “ shall think most conducive for their safety. As for
 “ our unhappy fleet, I have taken a resolution to be
 “ put on board a light brigantine this very night, when
 “ I will endeavour to get in the dark through the ene-
 “ mies fleet ; and if I succeed in my attempt, will rally
 “ together as many of our scattered vessels as I shall

“ meet

“ meet with, when I will sail for Messina, and there
 “ wait for orders from court.”

THE viceroy told him that he would go along with him, and abandon himself entirely to his conduct ; and though there remained still near 5000 men in the fort, and other parts of the island, he yet chose to desert them, and fly, to survive his disgrace, rather than bury himself bravely in the ruins of the fortress. He left Alvarez de Sande, an excellent officer, who had gained great reputation in the wars of Piedmont, to command them, after which he went on board, together with some general officers. By Doria's skill and dexterity, he got clear of the Turkish vessels, and, touching at Malta, went from thence into Sicily, there to conceal his defeat and misfortunes : but those of the Christians, who were left behind in the island did not end with the rout of the fleet ; for the Turks landing their troops and artillery, laid siege to the fort, which they battered with 18 pieces of cannon. Had these been the only enemies whom de Sande had to oppose, his case would not have been so desperate ; but he, during three months that he sustained the siege with invincible courage, had not only men to fight with, but also famine, thirst, and, as it were, all the elements. All the water in their cisterns was spent, and there was no wood left in the fortress to dress their victuals. The greatest part of the soldiers, chusing rather to desert than die with thirst, delivered themselves up to the enemy. De Sande seeing his own cannon dismounted, and the fortifications of the place beaten down by that of the Turks ; and, moreover, finding himself destitute both of wood and water, and the soldiers he had left sick, emaciated and in a languishing condition, resolved to make a gallant sally, and either open himself a passage, or die honourably sword in hand. Then representing to his men that their safety depended on their courage, he put himself at their head, and sallied out at a time when he thought to surprise the infidels ; but the Turks having been informed of his design by some deserters, were ready to receive him, so that he

was scarce out of the fort, when he was surrounded on all sides, and overpowered by different bodies of troops, who fell upon him. He had not even the satisfaction of dying in the field, but was taken by the infidels, and sent to the gallies with the rest of his officers and soldiers. The basha hereupon took possession of the place, but ordered all the fortifications to be demolished, for fear lest the Christians should recover it after his departure ; after which, he set out on his return to Constantinople, covered with glory, and leading an infinite number of prisoners, together with the Christian gallies, in triumph. Near fourteen thousand men perished in this unhappy expedition ; who were either destroyed by the sword, or by sickness, or else carried away into slavery. The Spaniards alone lost 23 gallies and 14 ships of burden, besides those of the pope, and two which belonged to Cosmo duke of Florence. Peter Machiavel, who commanded them, saved two other gallies at first ; but meeting afterwards with thirteen Algerine gallies, near the Isle of Giglio, they were forced to run upon the rocks that lye off of the island of Corsica. The officers and soldiers however saved themselves ashore ; but the infidels seized the hulls of the gallies, and set the crew of slaves, who were all Mahometans, at liberty.

'TWAS about this time that Cosmo duke of Florence, in order to secure himself for the future against their incursions, formed a body of seamen ; and the better to engage the officers of it in his interest, instituted an order of knighthood, which served afterwards as a nursery for the knights of Malta. This new order was dedicated to pope St. Stephen, whose feast is kept on the second of August, a day that was propitious to this prince, and on which his generals had a little before defeated the exiles of Florence, at the battle of Marciano. Cosmo settled the great convent of the order at Pisa, which he endowed with great revenues, and drew up the laws and statutes of it himself : and, as it might be of a dangerous consequence, in a new government, to leave a body of gentry under any other authority than

than his own, he made himself the head and grand master of it ; and the princes his sons, who were three in number, were the first knights of the order. Francis, whom he designed for his successor, and whom he afterwards sent to the court of Spain ; John, who was hardly sixteen years of age, when he was made a cardinal ; and Garfia, the youngest of the three, who was a prince of a savage temper. The two last had, from a spirit of jealousy and emulation, which began from their cradle, entertained a violent hatred against one another, that they could never be prevailed upon to lay aside, and which broke out at this time in a very fatal manner. Whilst Cosmo, attended with all his family, in order to settle his new body of knights, was visiting the ports and maritime places of his dominions, these two young princes, quarrelling at a party of hunting, which they had made in the forests near Grossetto, stole off, by concert, from their attendants, and retired into the middle of a wood, where they fought, when Garfia killed the cardinal with a dagger. This being done, he comes up to the rest of the company, and with a very unconcerned air, and as if he had only lost his way, asks what was become of his brother. As that young prince did not appear, and the night was drawing on, his officers dispersed themselves different ways to look for him ; and he who was particularly entrusted with the care of him, after having traversed all the forest, found him at last lying dead upon the ground, and weltring in his gore ; upon which he ran with all imaginable speed to acquaint Cosmo with the dismal news. Cosmo immediately suspected the person that had given the deadly blow ; yet, notwithstanding his being in the highest transports of grief, he still had command enough over himself to dissemble it, ordering the officer to keep it a secret, and when it was dark, to wrap his son's body in a carpet, and to bring it into his closet unseen to any one.

No sooner were his orders executed, but he sent for Garfia, and shutting his closet door, asked him what

was become of his brother. The young prince, with an assurance very uncommon at his age, answered him very gravely, that he had lost sight of him in the chase, in his eager pursuit of the stag. Cosmo then ordered him to lift up the carpet which covered the cardinal's body, from whose wounds the blood was still gushing out in great abundance. At this sad spectacle, the duke, no longer able to stifle his grief and resentment, cried out in a rage, "Thou wretch, see there the blood
 " of thy brother, that cries to heaven for vengeance
 " against thee! Have I given life to a parricide, who,
 " by the murder of his brother, has opened to himself
 " a way to assassinate his father also?" Garzia, in a fright, threw himself at his feet, confessed his guilt; and, to lessen the horror of his crime, alledged, that his brother had attacked him first, and that he had been forced to kill him in his own defence. But Cosmo rejecting this poor excuse, and giving him a furious look, "I must, says he, myself revenge the death of
 " the innocent by the destruction of the guilty, and
 " you must give back your life to him who gave it
 " you." As he was speaking these words, he snatched from him the dagger, with which he had killed his brother, and stabbed him to the heart. They were both buried afterwards in a very private manner; and, in order to conceal so dismal a catastrophe from the world, it was given out, that they died at a country-house of a contagious distemper, which at that time raged in Tuscany. Their obsequies were afterwards celebrated with great pomp in the cathedral church at Florence; and in the funeral oration, which was made on that occasion, the orator, by Cosmo's order, affected to expatiate chiefly on the praises of Garzia, purposely to take away all suspicion of the murder. 'Tis in this manner that Monsieur de Thou has related this tragical event in the 32d book of his history; though it is pretended that this fact is not mentioned in his first edition, but that it has been since inserted by the publishers of the later editions. Eleonora of Toledo, mother to the young princes, from whom
 they

they could not conceal the circumstances of their death, died of grief; but Cosmo, without sinking under the weight of his misfortunes, endeavoured to divert the thought of them by a close application to the affairs of government. His great business at this time was to put his new order on a flourishing footing; and in order to make this badge of distinction a means of uniting the principal families of Florence in the interest of his house, this able prince, one of the greatest politicians of his age, obtained leave from pope Pius IV. to dispense his new knights from the obligation of celibacy, which was observed in the order of Malta; and even such as had been twice married had the favour of being admitted into it. He gave them likewise the privilege, in default of legitimate issue, of bequeathing their estates to their bastards, upon condition, however, that they should leave the fourth part thereof to the order. His interest did not allow him to conform in all these points, to the rigour and severity of the statutes observed by the knights of Malta; and he only exhorted those of St. Stephen, to imitate them at least in the valour and zeal which they had shewed for so many ages against the Turks and infidels.

'Twas with this view, and for the perfecting them in military discipline, that he ordered the commodores of his gallies, whenever they should meet those of Malta, to join and keep company with them, and fall by concert upon all such corsairs as they should meet with. Pursuant to these orders, Baccio Martelli knight of St. Stephen, being at sea with four Florentine gallies under his command, and meeting off of Cape Lupo with Vincent de Gonzaga, prior of Barietto, general of the gallies of the order, who had seven under him, saluted him first, and went on board, desiring leave to follow him: he readily obtained his request; and, during all the time they were out a cruising, was exact in observing the orders which he gave afterwards to his subaltern officers. The general, with this reinforcement of four gallies, finding himself at the head of a squadron of eleven gallies, all well provided, scoured the Le-

vant over, rescued a great number of vessels that were chased by the infidels, took several corsairs; and, when the campaign was over, he parted with the Florentines off of Corfu, and returned into the port of Malta; where, agreeable to the spirit of the order, he was welcomed with greater congratulations for the Christian vessels he had defended and rescued, than for those which he had taken from the infidels.

THIS was the reason why the gallies of the order were almost continually at sea. The grand master built likewise two new ones at his own expence, and his example was daily followed by the richest commanders; they always employing themselves generously, according to their several abilities, in fitting out different squadrons; so that the order had never been so powerful at sea as at that time. But nothing struck the infidels with greater terror, than that these squadrons were commanded by knights of great experience, who were grown old in the service, and who were most of them qualified to command considerable fleets: such were the commander Gozon de Melac, general of the gallies of the order; the commander de Guimeran, whom the king of Spain had desired of the grand master to command those of Sicily; the commanders de Giou and d'Elbeines, and the chevaliers de Thiange and la Motte, all excellent seamen, and of great reputation for their valour and experience. But among these several officers, there was not any one who took so many prizes, and so considerable at the same time, as the commander de Romegas, a knight who had followed cruising from his youth. No body was so well acquainted as he himself, with all the coasts, the ports, and even the smallest creeks and bays in the Mediteranean; he was brave and intrepid, was fearless of danger, and would never suffer any officers or soldiers to be aboard him, that had not as much courage and resolution as himself. The life which he had chiefly spent at sea, had given him a savage look, and he was accused of treating his prisoners with cruelty; but he pretended that he had acted so only

ly by way of reprisal, and in order to force the corsairs to treat the Christian slaves with more humanity. This apology, however, did not entirely remove the suspicion the world had entertained, viz. that he, in using these reprisals in that manner, had not committed any great violence upon his nature ; and that his temper, which was naturally cruel and violent, had perhaps contributed as much to it as his politics.

BE that as it will, he, at this time, met off of the coast of Sicily, with a large galiot, under the command of a famous corsair, Yusuf Conciny by name, a Calabrian renegado ; a man, who was the tyrant, or rather the executioner of the Christian slaves. Of these he had 200 in his ship, together with 250 soldiers on board. They were pretty near equal in strength, and the corsair did not decline the combat ; the two galleys bore down upon one another, and, after firing their broad-sides, came to a close engagement. The fight was maintained a long time with equal advantage, so that there was no distinguishing which side would be victorious : when at last, Romegas, enraged at such a long resistance, put himself at the head of his bravest officers. leaped into the galiot sword in hand, and forced the bend or wale of it. The corsair received him with the same courage, and killed two knights with his own hand : happening to fall, by a blow which he received, upon one of the rowers benches, the slaves, to revenge the ill treatment they had received from him, no sooner saw Romegas master of the vessel, but they handed the corsair from one to another without his opposing it. Every one of them gave him a blow ; some were so furious with revenge, that they tore him with their teeth ; there was not one but would have a piece of him, so that before he was got to the last bench, there was scarce the least bit of him left. A renegado of Melazzo in Sicily did not meet with a better treatment ; under him, several corsairs had surprized and plundered that little place, carried off several inhabitants of both sexes ; and, to add lasciviousness to robbery, an infamous wretch, one Marabout had

had ravished some young Christian virgins ; of which, the gallies of Malta, in conjunction with those of Sicily, having advice, they pursued after the pirates, but could not come up with them. After this attempt, the squadrons separated ; and the Maltese gallies being lighter than the Sicilian, and their crews fresher, came up with the principal galley of the corsairs, which had the booty and slaves on board. As a single galley, which should pretend to resist a whole squadron, would probably only expose itself to be sunk, the infidels struck immediately. The prior of Barletto, who commanded on this occasion, set the Christian slaves at liberty, put fourscore Turks to the oar in their stead, and brought back to Melazzo the men and women who had been carried off from thence. The people, after having made him their acknowledgments in their way by great shouts and rejoicings, desired him to deliver up into their hands the renegado their countryman, who had guided the corsairs, and that insolent fellow Marabout, who had abused their daughters. The prior accordingly gave up the two villians, and the mob in a rage did justice upon them with their own hands, and tore them to pieces in a moment. Romegas, who was then at sea, gave more favourable treatment to a gallion which he met near the island of Scarpento, an island lying between those of Candia and Rhodes. This gallion came from Satalia, and was commanded by Kais Seid Mahomet Ugly, an officer of courage, and who had a great number of brave old soldiers on board. Romegas had at that time but two gallies, which belonged to the grand master ; and the chevalier de la Motte commanded the lesser. This knight, whose vessel was the lighter of the two, began the engagement : Romegas coming up, and drawing near the gallion, surveyed it carefully, and seeing it well provided with artillery, and the deck covered with musketeers, he plainly perceived, that in case he did not change the manner of the attack, it would be impossible for ten such gallies as those which he commanded, to take that stately vessel, which was so high,
that

that it looked like a floating castle in comparison of the gallies. But as the knights never regarded the number and forces of their enemies; and as Romegas's temper was such, that he had rather die than that any body should be able to reproach him justly with having quitted an enterprize he had once engaged in, he resolved to cannonade this great carrack at a distance. Happily a calm succeeded, which hindered it from making any way; and the two gallies, advancing near the gallion by the help of their oars, poured a broad-side into it, and made off; and then charging again, returned with the same agility to fire another. Romegas taking his advantage of the calm, continued this way of fighting so long, that the gallion after having lost abundance of men by his guns and musquetry, was forced to strike. The knights boarding it, found it was laden with rich merchandize: but they had scarce taken possession of it when it sunk, having received some shot in its upper works; and all that they could do was to save the men, among whom was a venerble old man, seventy-eight years of age, who was sargiac of Grand Cairo; and near 600 persons, Turks, Moors, and Negroes, who, like him, were all bound for Constantinople.

WHILST the knights of Malta were continually exposing their lives against the infidels, the roman catholic church assembled in a general council at Trent, where its prelates exerted all their zeal and learning to oppose the innovations of the protestants. The grand master was also invited thither, as well as the other sovereigns of Christendom. This prince, and the council of Malta, deputed the chevaliers de Villegagnon, and Royas de Portalrouge, to go thither in quality of ambassadors of the order. The former could not attend, by reason of his great age, and a severe fit of sickness that seized him; so that Royas went thither alone, who, before he could be admitted, had great difficulties to surmount, from the opposition of the body of bishops, who represented, that it was not just, that a private religious, who was but deputy to a society of lay brothers, should have his seat among the embas-

embassadors, and as such, take place of the bishops. The affair however was made up, and it was agreed, that the ambassador of Malta should be placed among the other ambassadors of the Christian princes, without prejudice however to the protests of the episcopal order : in consequence of which regulation, Royas was admitted in the congregation that was held on the 7th of September A. D. 1563. He began his speech by an apology for the grand master and council, for their not having sent ambassadors sooner to the holy synod ; the reason of which, he said, was, that the island and channel of Malta were continually infested by corsairs, who seemed to be in expectation of the grand seignior's fleet, in order to attempt an entire conquest of the island. He next took notice of the original of the order, which, as he said, had been founded forty years before the first crusade. He next set forth the heroick exploits of their ancestors, saying, that if they did not equal them at that time, it was owing to the protestants having seized on some of their commandries ; as well as to the roman catholic prelates and princes, who, contrary to the usage and privileges of the order, often got the pope to bestow the richest priories and commandries upon them. He entreated the fathers, in the name of the whole order, to consider its antiquity, its nobility, and the services it had done to Christendom, during a series of so many ages, to order the commandries which had been usurped to be restored, and to provide by a decree, that they should not for the future be ever enjoyed by any body but the knights, according to their seniority ; desiring them at the same time, to pass a solemn confirmation of all the privileges that had been granted to the order ever since its foundation.

THE proctor answered in general terms, and, in the name of the council, told him, that the fathers allowed his excuse for the order, for its having been so long in sending its ambassadors ; and that they would not be wanting in the preservation of the commandries
and

and the privileges of the order, that was so useful to the church.

THE ambassador presented some memorials to the legates of the council, relating to the confirmation of the immunities of the order ; and particularly to get a decree, to disqualify all persons, of what dignity soever, from enjoying any priories and commandries, till after their having made the three vows of their institution, in the order of St. John of Jerusalem. The legates durst not propose such a decree in the congregation, till such time as they had first consulted the pope about it, and were acquainted with his intentions. Accordingly, they wrote to him upon that subject ; but Pius IV. who then sat in the papal chair, and who was very vigilant to let nothing pass in the council that might limit his authority, was not ignorant that several of his predecessors had claimed a right of collating to the priories and commandries which fell vacant at the court of Rome, or within their territories ; though indeed several other popes had made contrary declarations in favour of the order. He therefore wrote back to his legates, that the decree for which the grand master was soliciting, did not concern the council, and that it was no body's business, but his, to make such a regulation, when he should judge proper ; and after the breaking up of the council, which had always given him a great deal of uneasiness, he entirely forgot the knights of Malta, and the continual services they were doing the Christian world, particularly to the people who inhabited the coasts of Sicily, Naples, Italy, and Spain, the last especially, who, since the conclusion of the council, had been put in a state of security, by the share the order had in the taking of Gomera de Velez, a place situated on the coast of Barbary, and not above forty leagues distant from Spain.

THIS harbour indeed was not capable of holding great ships, but it constantly sent out a number of fusts and galiots ; and whenever they fitted out more considerable squadrons, the king of Fez, their neighbour, furnished them with soldiers, drawn chiefly out of the
moun-

mountainous country adjoining ; all of them bold fellows, and fearless of danger, when booty was the prize. About a mile from this town lay Pignon de Velez, in a little isle, or rather a rock, to which there is no going up, but by a way hewn in the rock itself ; which is divided from the continent by nothing but a very narrow channel, that serves for a kind of port to it, and which can hold no more than ten or twelve little vessels at most. This fort was a great security to the corsairs, who, whenever they were pursued, used to retire thither, as the cannon of the place kept their enemies at a distance. The king of Spain had made an unsuccessful attempt upon it the year before ; but resuming the same design this year, he assembled all his naval forces : after which he wrote in very pressing terms to the grand master, and to several princes of Italy his allies, desiring them to join their gallies with his. With these several squadrons he made up a strong fleet, the command of which he gave to Don Garzia de Toledo, viccroy of Catalonia, who had the direction of the enterprize. This general set sail from the port of Malaga on the 10th of August, with a favourable wind, and, arriving in two days on the coast of Barbary, landed his troops and artillery without any opposition. The van-guard was composed of Spanish troops and the knights of Malta ; the Portugueze and Italians made the main body ; and the Germans were put in the rear. The Christian army marching in good order, advanced up to the town of Gomera, which was not above six miles from the place of their landing. The Christian general, in order to cut off all communication between this town and the garrison of Pignon, and to prevent their receiving any succours from thence, resolved to begin his enterprize with the siege of that place. Gomera, like most of the inland towns of Barbary, was without any fortifications, and lay between two hills. The inhabitants had abandoned it upon the approach of the Christians, and were fled with what they could carry off into the fastnesses of the mountains. Garzia taking advantage of their
con-

consternation, seized upon the town; and fortifying his camp with lines and good redoubts, he raised a battery of six great cannon upon an adjacent hill, which played upon the fort for a whole day together; at the same time that the galleys of Malta, and a great gallion battered it so furiously from the sea, that a large pannel of the wall, and part of the tower, or plat-form, were demolished. The governor in a fright, seeing no succours appear, resolved to abandon the place, and fly away with his family, and his most considerable effects. He had a little skiff or boat to carry them, which was hid at the foot of the rock; but fearing lest the garrison should either stop him, or offer to follow him, he told them that he was going to raise the mountaineers, that he would put himself at their head, and would either lose his life in the attempt, or force the Christians to raise the siege, meantime the garrison, which consisted only of thirty men, seeing no effect of his promises, and not troubling themselves about defending a place, which had been deserted by its governor, consulted only their own safety. Such soldiers as could swim got to shore at as great a distance as possible from the Christian camp; and such as could not opened the gates, and surrendered up the fort. Thus a place, which was looked upon as impregnable, and which the year before had held out against all the forces of Spain, was taken in a few days; this victory was as much owing to the cowardice of the governor, as to the valour and capacity of the Christian general.

THE noise of this conquest gave a terrible alarm to all the corsairs of Barbary, who carried the news to Constantinople, where they complained about it to Solyman; to whom they represented, that as the Spaniards were masters of Goletta, Pignon de Vêlez, and Tunis, they kept all the coast of Barbary, as it were, in chains. Solyman signified to them, that he would break them in a little time; and, as they informed him that the Maltese galleys had greatly contributed to the reducing of the place, he resolved, in order to secure the

liberty of Barbary, to begin by the conquest of the isle of Malta; and from that time, without communicating his design to any body but his ministers, he made preparations with all possible secrecy, for the fitting out of a strong naval force; the effects of which were felt in the following year. Another fine prize, which the knights took a little after, raised the grand seignior's resentment to the highest pitch, and made him more eager in fitting out his armada. After the taking of Pignon de Velcz, the five gallies of the order, commanded by general de Giou, and the grand master's two gallies, under the particular command of Romegas, joining together, and cruising in company, met between the islands of Zante and Cephalonia, with a strong gallion, laden with the richest commodities of the east, and mounted with twenty large brass cannon, and a great number of a lesser size, having a body of good officers of artillery, and above 200 janizaries on board, all of them excellent arquebusiers. This vessel was commanded by rais or captain Bairan-Ogli, and belonged to the kislar-aga, chief of the black eunuchs of the seraglio. This eunuch was the minister of his master's pleasures, and the guardian of those young ladies and beauties who were reserved for his use, several of whom had a share in the gallion. General Giou, seeing himself at the head of a squadron of seven gallies, first fired a cannon without ball, to make the captain of the vessel bring to; but the Turks answered him with a ball, and immediately hoisted up their flag, and all their colours, by way of defiance, and as a declaration of their being resolved to fight.

GENERAL Giou, and the commander Romegas, finding there was no likelihood of their taking the vessel but by force of arms, agreed to attack it first themselves; that after they had poured in their broad-sides as close as possible, the two commodores should be relieved by two other gallies, and these again by the three last, so as to make a continual fire without any intermission. But this order of battle was ill observed, from the jealousy and emulation of the two generals,
 who,

who, forgetting their first agreement of acting together in concert, each strove to engross the whole honour of the victory to himself. De Giou's galley coming up under the stern of this great vessel, was covered in a moment with fire-works; the knights and soldiers were plied warmly with volleys of stones and musket-shot: and the cannon, loaded with cartridges, made such havock amongst them, that the general was forced to remove to some distance. Romegas, on his side, attacked the gallion with his usual intrepidity; but a ball, which was shot from it, demolished the wale of his galley, and killed two and twenty of his men; and by another, twenty more of them were forced to leap into the sea. Romegas, fearing he should be sunk by a great cannon which he saw was levelled to take him betwixt wind and water, thought proper, though sore against his will, to retire further off; after which, the two next gallies advanced in their turn, and in concert fell upon the gallion, each on its side, and poured in such a terrible fire, that they killed and disabled several of the janizaries: but those brave fellows, who were part of a body of troops, in which the chief force of the Turkish empire consists, fought on with the same intrepidity. The three last gallies were then forced to advance to the succour of the rest; and the two commodores, getting their gallies in readiness, returned to the engagement with new fury. The battle lasted five whole hours before any judgment could be formed of the issue of it; and, notwithstanding the great bravery of the knights, they would perhaps have been forced to retire with loss, had the Turks been able to make use of all their artillery. But unfortunately for them, their best pieces, by the avarice of the merchants, were encumbered among the bales of goods, so that they were of no use to them; and the gallies making a superior fire, the knights at last boarded the vessel, and made themselves master of it. The victory was bloody; for above sixscore Christians, either knights or soldiers, lost their lives in it: among the former, those chiefly regretted were la Fonde, a Provençal; Berzet an Italian,

and Pacieco a Spaniard ; Anthony Fernandes, Possellia and Diego d'Inestrofa were mortally wounded, and died a few days afterwards at Saragossa : Fernando Ruis de Correali, Ernand de Zuniga, Jerom Caraffa, a Neapolitan, and a great many more, were wounded in this long and obstinate engagement. The Turks, besides their wounded, lost fourscore janizaries, and several officers ; particularly an engineer, who, by his courage and skill in pointing the cannon, had contributed more to their making this gallant defence, than even the captain of the gallion himself.

THIS capture made a greater noise at Constantinople, especially in the seraglio, than the loss of an important place would have done. The kissir-aga, and the odalischi, or favourites of the grand seignior, who had shares in it, threw themselves at the sultan's feet, and entreated him to revenge them on the knights. Solyman, looking upon this capture as an insult offered to his own household, swore by his head, that he would extirpate the order ; and in order to comfort the ladies, and the kissir-aga, for their loss, he indemnified them by making them rich presents out of his own coffers. The greatest part of his officers, and the Mahometan priests, entered into his resentment ; and the mufli, their chief, represented to him in a private audience, that as all musulmen were obliged to go once in their lives to visit their prophet's tomb, it would be impossible for his European subjects to discharge that duty any longer, without exposing themselves to be taken by the Christian corsairs ; that Malta was crouded with Turkish slaves ; and that a prince, who had so high a sense of religion, and whom providence had raised to so eminent a degree of power, ought to scruple the leaving so great a number of the faithful in slavery, and exposed to the danger of changing their religion. The kissir-aga, who was more incensed than any body else, and who carried on all this intrigue, in order to determine the grand seignior to lay aside all other enterprises, and to fall upon the island of Malta, engaged the iman, or preacher of the principal mosque, cunningly

ringly to insinuate a discourse upon that subject into his sermon. Solyman, who was a religious prince, going thither the Friday following, which is the Turkish sabbath, this orator, under the pretence of treating of the charity which ought to be shewn to the poor and wretched, introduced himself by deploring the disgrace and wretched state of those musulmen who were in slavery among the Christians. He did this at first in general terms ; then, directing his discourse to the grand seignior, he, after extolling his valour, his conquests, and the mildness of his government, in such a manner as they justly deserved, added, that there was nothing wanting to complete his glory but only the delivering of such a great number of unhappy musulmen, as had been deprived of their fortunes and liberty by the Maltese. He afterwards entered into the particulars of all their captures, of which, 'tis probable, they had furnished him with an exact account ; and shewed, that their rovers had, within the last five years, taken upwards of fifty vessels laden with the richest commodities of the east ; not to mention the feluccas, brigantines, galleys, and galiots employed in the cruising service : “ these vessels, says he to him, together with
 “ their cargoes and the men on board, have been all
 “ seized by those merciless corsairs ; and nothing, Sir,
 “ but your invincible sword can rescue so many poor
 “ creatures out of slavery : the son calls upon you to
 “ restore him his father, and the wife her husband or
 “ her children : all, all expect from your justice and
 “ power, the vengeance which is due to their cruel
 “ enemies.”

SUCH a bold and pathetic discourse, raised a confused murmuring in the congregation, which at last broke out into loud complaints, contrary to what is generally practised in their mosques, where a profound silence is always observed. Solyman seemed surprised and troubled at this unusual incident ; but being told the reason of it, he, in order to quiet the people, signified to them by his grand vizier, that they should have their revenge and satisfaction in a little time ; and ac-

cordingly went out of the mosque fully resolved, in case he was not prevented by the Hungarian war, to fall with all his forces upon Malta.

SOLYMAN had for a long time been warmly solicited to undertake this enterprize by Hassan basha, the viceroy of Algiers, son and successor to the famous Barbarossa; and by Dragat, governor of Tripoli. * Both of these had frequently remonstrated to him, particularly since the taking of Pignon de Velez, that the Christians, unless some remedy should be fallen upon, would infallibly make themselves masters of all the coast of Barbary; that so long as Malta should continue in the hands of the knights, it would be impossible to send out any reinforcements to them, or for them to receive any from their respective governments, without running a great hazard of their being intercepted; and that this island, which was no more than a rock, was the only barrier that braved his power, and which, by the privateers and squadrons that it sent out, was continually interrupting the communication of Barbary with Asia and the isles of the Archipelago.

SOLYMAN was sensible of the importance of this conquest; but as it might be attended with difficulties, he, like a prudent and wise prince, would not engage in it till such time as he had consulted his principal generals. For this purpose, he, according to the Turkish custom, held a great council of war on horseback in the open field. The first thing debated in it was the necessity they were under of driving the knights out of an island, where they disturbed the commerce of the grand seignior's subjects, and interrupted the pilgrimages to Mecca and Medina. They agreed, that their religion, as well as the state, were equally interested in their extirpation. After this, the next point examined was the means of putting this project in execution.

THE greatest part of the bashas, who guessed at the sultan's inclinations, like true courtiers, told him that the conquest of the isle of Rhodes, might assure him of
success

* De Thou, Hist. l. 37.

success in the enterprise of Malta ; that the knights, whom they called a pack of rascally corsairs, would never be able to hold out against the most inconsiderable part of the forces of his empire ; and that he had no more to do than to send the galleys of Algiers and Tripoli, with a body of troops, to seize on some forts, which those rovers had built for the security of the ports and coasts of the island.

ALY, one of Dragut's lieutenants, whom he had sent on purpose to Constantinople, was present at this council, and represented in the name of his general, that in case they should make their first attempt by besieging Malta, there was no doubt but the knights would receive considerable succours from Goletta, Pignon de Velez, and from the Moors of Tunis, who were vassals to the crown of Castile, and enemies to the Turkish government ; that Dragut was of opinion, they should open the campaign with the sieges of Goletta, and Pignon de Velez ; and that when they should have cleared the coast of Barbary of the Christians, and reduced the inhabitants of the country, they then might employ the grand seignior's troops the year following in besieging Malta. Mahomet, the most anti-ent of all the bashas, an old experienced general, who was afterwards advanced to the dignity of grand vizier, was entirely against the enterprise of Malta ; and, besides the reasons which Dragut's agent had alledged, he urged, that there was a great difference between the isle of Rhodes and that of Malta ; that the former was situated in the midst of his territories, at a great distance from Europe, and out of the way of all succour from the Christians ; and as its soil afforded plenty of corn and pasture, it easily furnished subsistence for his army : whereas, on the contrary, as Malta lay near Sicily, it could receive succours from thence every moment, and that the king of Spain, who considered it as the bulwark of his Italian dominions, would not fail to employ all his forces to relieve it ; that most of the Christian princes would enter into the war, out of a principle of religion ; that they would meet with nothing
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in Malta, but a steep barren rock, without either corn or pasture ground, and a body of brave knights to defend it, who were all resolved to die in the spot, rather than surrender; and that, even supposing they should take it, they yet ought to be sure of getting subsistence for the army, whilst they should be repairing the old fortifications, and making new ones; that they had reason to be apprehensive of a new crusade, and a league between the princes of Christendom, who, in that case, would be able to send a numerous fleet in the spring with fresh troops on board, to block up the Turkish vessels in the isle of Malta; and that it would redound much more to the grand seignior's glory, and be more advantageous to his empire, to employ his troops in Hungary, or to attempt the conquest of Italy; nor indeed could he do better than to begin with Sicily; which being reduced, Malta would fall of course into his hands; and that after all, without his engaging in such a difficult enterprize as that proposed against the knights of St. John, they might easily provide for the security of the merchants of the sultan's empire, and the pilgrims, who went out of devotion to Mahomet's tomb, by sending out convoys along with them.

NOTWITHSTANDING the solidity of these reasons, Solyman, who was easily wrought upon by motives of conscience, and who, moreover, was touched with the complaints and tears of his favourites, declared himself for the enterprize of Malta: the hopes too of raising his glory might probably have determined him to undertake it; and that after driving the knights out of Rhodes, and the other isles of the Archipelago, which depended on it, and the castles and lands they possessed upon the continent of Asia Minor, he might have flattered himself, that the conquest of Malta would make his name famous, and his power formidable in Europe and Africa. Whatever might be his motives, he sent express orders over all his empire for equipping all the ships and galleys that could be found in his ports fit for the sea service. Uluchialy, a Calabrian
renegado,

renegado, brought him several from Alexandria ; the governor of Rhodes furnished what gallies he had ; and Hassan and Dragut, bashas or viceroys of Algiers and Tripoli, were ordered to join the Ottoman fleet, with all the corsairs of Barbary, as soon as they should hear of its arrival before Malta. Whilst these preparations were carrying on, he sent some able engineers thither in the habit of fishermen, who, under pretence of throwing their lines into the ditches, and selling their fish in the town, viewed the fortifications, and the height of the walls, and took an exact plan of the place, which the grand seignior laid before his generals.

OUT of these he made choice of two to head this expedition ; viz. Piali and Mustapha. Although Piali's extraction was unknown, he yet had a great share in this prince's favour, who had married him to one of his grand-children. Solyman, returning from his first campaign in Hungary, and after the taking of Belgrade, had found him in swaddling clothes, lying upon a plough-share, where probably his mother had left him in her fright at the march of the army. The grand seignior, who diverted himself with hunting on the road, gave orders that he should be brought to him, and, finding in his features, which were not yet formed, something that pleased him, he took care to give him a good education ; and, after he had passed gradually through all the posts of his army, he gave him one of his grand-daughters. He made him likewise basha of the sea, and as such he had the general command of the fleet on this occasion.

MUSTAPHA, who had acquired Solyman's esteem and confidence by several considerable victories which he had gained, was appointed general of the land-forces. He was an old officer, aged threescore and five ; was harsh and severe in command, cruel and bloody to all such enemies as fell into his hands ; and, particularly, was not ashamed to glory in breaking his word and oath with the Christians. Solyman, who had an equal confidence in both these generals, recommended

mended to them to live in good understanding with one another, to act always in concert, and above all, not to attempt any thing without first consulting Dragut, whom he considered not only as a sworn enemy to the knights, but as the greatest seaman he had then in his empire.

THE fitting out such numbers of ships and gallies, the marching of troops from all quarters to the ports of the Morea, and the various motions which were made all over the Ottoman empire, gave great uneasiness to those Christian princes, whose territories lay near those of the grand seignior ; though they were ignorant at the same time where the storm would fall. Some pretended that this armada was designed against the fort of Goletta, which was the key of the kingdom, and particularly of the city of Tunis ; or else against Pignon de Velez, which likewise opened an entrance into the kingdom of Algiers ; others suspected, that this enterprise was intended against Malta only ; and this opinion was confirmed by various letters that came from the Levant. In this uncertainty, the king of Spain, being particularly interested in the preservation and defence of Malta, as it served for a bulwark to Sicily, ordered the viceroy Don Garcia de Toledo to pass by Malta in his way to Goletto, and confer about it with the grand master. They communicated to each other all the different advices they had received, and agreed, in case of an attack, to assist one another with all their forces ; and as the grand master represented to him the want he should be in both of corn and soldiers, in case he should be forced to sustain a siege, the viceroy promised, upon his return into Sicily, to send him a considerable quantity, with two companies of Spanish soldiers ; and, in the mean time, left one of his sons with him, as it were in hostage, for the performance of his word, who afterwards took the habit of the order.

HE was but just gone from Malta, when fresh advices arrived from some trusty spies, whom the grand master kept at Constantinople : by their letters they assured

assured him, that the Turks would infallibly open the campaign with the siege of Malta, and, that after reducing the whole island, which Solymán took for granted, he had given orders to his generals to go into Africa, and employ all his forces to drive out the Spaniards from thence.

THE grand master was not in the least daunted at the news ; however, he communicated it to the council of the order, and, by their consent, sent a general summons to all the knights who were dispersed up and down the different provinces of Christendom, to repair forthwith to Malta. The agents whom the order employed in Italy levied a body of 2000 foot, and the viceroy of Sicily sent the two Spanish companies he had promised him. The ships and galleys of the order were, till the beginning of the siege, continually employed in transporting arms, powder, ammunition and provisions to Malta ; and the knights were daily arriving there in considerable numbers, eager to discharge the obligations of their profession, to signalize their zeal and courage against the infidels.

LA VALETTE made most of these knights captains and officers, who, by his order, disciplined the inhabitants of the towns and country, and formed them into new companies of soldiers fit for service ; the greatest part of them being good arquebusiers, and there being very few among them but what had been out a cruising, and served on board the galleys of the order. These companies made up a body of 4000 foot ; the grand master distributed them into different posts, where there was occasion for them ; and that he might not omit anything which might possibly contribute to his defence, he sent copies of the letters he had received from Constantinople to the pope, and to most of the Christian princes, to represent to them the danger with which the order was threatened, and to desire them to send succours to the knights, who wanted them only, to make head against the formidable enemy of all Christendom. Pius IV. who then sat upon the papal throne, paid in a sum of 10,000 crowns to
Cambian,

Cambian, the Maltèse ambassador at Rome. Nothing was to be got from France, which was at this time weakened with intestine wars and divisions ; but the king of Spain, out of fear lest the Turks should advance so near Sicily, resolved to employ all his forces to keep them at a distance. He wrote to his ministers in Italy, and to several princes of that nation, his allies, to form immediately a body of 20,000 foot, which should be ready to embark upon the first accounts of the designs of the infidels ; and, by the same express, he ordered the viceroy of Sicily to take as much care for the defence of Malta, as he would use for the preservation of Sicily itself.

THE viceroy, persuaded that in the anxiety the grand master must needs be in, the giving him assurance that he would send him succours, would be in a manner the same as if he actually sent them him, imparted to him the orders he had received from the court of Madrid. The grand master could not help being pleased with such fine promises ; however, he did not depend upon them so far, as to neglect preparing himself to sustain all the efforts of the formidable power of the Turks, with the forces of the order only. The perils which he foresaw were inevitable, served only to inspire him with greater bravery : he was informed with a resolution that was superior to all events ; his natural courage had inspired him with a noble indifference for life ; he had passed successively through all the employments of the order, and this gradual rise to new dignities had always been the testimony and recompence of the many memorable actions, which at last raised him to the dignity of grand master.

SUCH was brother John de la Valette, whose character will be better known by the relation of the siege of Malta, than by all that could be said before hand, of that magnanimity and courage, which distinguished him in the midst of the greatest dangers. Pursuant to the general summons, and in obedience to his orders, upwards of six hundred knights were already arrived at Malta, most of them attended with domestics, who
were

were brave in their persons, and who afterwards proved good soldiers. Such commanders as could not leave their provinces, by reason of their age or infirmities, not being able to go thither in person, generously sent the best part of their effects to Malta; and some old priors were ordered by the grand master to stay in Italy, in the kingdom of Naples, and about the person of the viceroy of Sicily, in order to hasten the succours he had promised, and to forward the embarkation of some French, Spanish, and German knights, who were not yet set out from their respective provinces. The grand master received them all with that pleasure which a good father feels upon seeing his children again, and had taken care to provide lodgings and subsistence for them beforehand. In all the vast variety, as well as importance, of the several affairs he had to manage, nothing was able to disconcert him; he would himself be acquainted with every single circumstance, and entered into the minutest particularities; he discharged, at the same time, the offices of soldier, captain, officer of the artillery, overseer of the sick, and engineer; with the same hand that he traced out a new fortification, he acted the pioneer in throwing up the ground; he was ever in motion, and in several places, as it were, at the same time; now he was among the workmen, the next moment he was visiting the magazines, and then immediately at the infirmary, busying himself in relieving the sick. Upon some fresh letters he received from different places confirming the former accounts that had been sent him, relating to the design the Turks had upon Malta, he assembled the knights who were then in the convent, in order to acquaint them with their contents; nor did he, on this occasion, either lessen the greatness of the danger to which they were exposed, or the uncertainty of the succour with which they had been flattered. “A formidable army, (says he to them, with an heroic boldness,) and an infinite multitude of Barbarians, are coming to thunder down upon us; they are, my brethren, enemies to Jesus Christ; it is our business to stand up manfully

“ in defence of the faith ; and if the gospel must submit to the alcoran, God, on this occasion, demands back of us a life which we have already devoted to him by our profession ; thrice happy they who shall first fall a sacrifice to so good a cause. But in order to make ourselves worthy of that honour, let us go, my brethren, to the altar, there to renew our vows, and partake of the blessed sacraments, and let the blood of the saviour of mankind inspire us with such a noble contempt of death, as can alone make us invincible.”

HE set forwards at the same time towards the church, attended by all his knights, where the holy sacrament was at that time exposed. Not a knight among them all but was zealous to follow the grand master's example ; they employed that and the following days in going to confession, and in partaking of the blessed eucharist ; and they all rose from the lord's table like new men. By their partaking of that strengthening food, all their weaknesses were repaired, all divisions, all private resentments, were now laid aside ; and, what was still more difficult, they broke off all their tender engagements, so dear to the heart of man. From that day they left off all correspondence with persons of a different sex, how innocent soever it might be ; they were dead to all views of interest or ambition ; the certain danger to which they were exposed, and the consideration of death, which was in a manner unavoidable, had revived in them a contempt of life, and all the other virtues of their predecessors ; they all embraced each other with that tenderness, which charity inspires, and protested that they would lose the last drop of their blood in the defence of their religion and altars.

THE grand master was overjoyed to find them in this excellent disposition ; and, in order not to be prevented, and surprised by the enemy, he resolved to assign every language the posts which they were to defend. For the better understanding of this distribution of the several employments, and of the actions which
happen-

happened in several parts of the island, it may not perhaps be improper, notwithstanding our having already given some account of the situation of Malta, in the foregoing book, to give a more particular one in this place.

MALTA is an island situated between Sicily and Africa, in the 29th degree of longitude, and the 35th of latitude. It is the most southern isle in Europe, lying about sixty miles from cape Passaro, and two hundred and seventy from Tripoli in Africa. Its circumference is sixty miles, its length twenty, and its breadth about twelve. It is washed on the east by the sea, which lies towards the island of Candia; it has the little isles or rocks of Pantalorea, Linosa, and Lanipaduia on the west; Sicily on the north, and the kingdom of Tunis on the south. On the south coast towards Tripoli, nothing is to be seen but great rocks, without either roads or ports; but we meet eastward with the road of Marza-Scala; and turning back on the right towards the south-west, we find another road or creek called Marza-Sirocco, capable of holding several vessels. In going still forward, towards the south-west, we meet with two large bays, the one called Antife-ga, and the other Musiarro; and at the extremity of the island, on that side westward, there is a creek very proper for ships to ride in, called Meleca, which is divided from the isle of Goza by a channel about four miles over. In the midst of this channel lie the little isles of Comino and Cominote. If we coast along the island, when we come to that part of it which lies over against Sicily, we meet with the road of St. Paul, so called, because the ship in which that apostle was carried prisoner to Rome, was driven thither by a storm; and the road of St. George, which looks towards the North, is not far from that of St. Paul. Lastly, as we go on towards that part of the island, which lies directly opposite to cape Passaro, we meet with two large ports, one of which lying on the left is called Marza Muset, or port Muset; in the middle whereof lies a small island, near which all ships coming from

the Levant, or suspected places, are obliged to perform quarantine ; the other is called barely Marza, or the great port, and lies towards the east.

THESE two ports are separated by a narrow slip of land, upon which the prior of Capua, as was before observed, built the fort of St. Elmo, to defend the entrance of them both. In the great port there are two narrow slips of land, parallel to each other, which run out into the sea in the form of two fingers, and are of a much greater length than breadth. The castle of St. Angelo was built on the extremity of that which lies nearest the mouth of the harbour, and was the only fort that was on the island at the time when the knights took possession of it. The grand master de l'Isle-Adam had fortified it with new ramparts, bastions, and ditches ; it had likewise been supplied with cisterns, an arsenal, and magazines. This castle had, ever since that time, been the residence of the grand masters ; but in this juncture, la Valette took up his lodging in the town, the better to have an opportunity of sending succours to all places where there might be occasion. What they call Il Borgia, was a little town lying behind the castle of St. Angelo, wherein the whole body of the convent had settled itself.

WE have already observed, that upon the point of the other narrow slip of land or rock, which runs out into the great port, and which lies upon the left hand, they had built a fort with a town ; and that it was called the isle of La Sangle, after the name of the grand master who fortified it ; though it was in reality no more than a peninsula. Between this town and the castle of St. Angelo, lay the port for the gallies, which was shut up every night with a great iron chain, that reached from the platform, at the foot of the castle of St. Angelo, to the point of the isle de la Sangle, where it was fastened with a large anchor, and was supported and carried cross the water by empty casks and beams of timber laid cross-ways at certain distances. In fine, behind this port de la Sangle, there was another, for such foreign ships as resorted to the island, either for
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the sake of commerce, or that were forced to put in for fear of the corsairs. I shall wave saying any thing in this place about the *Notable city*, the capital of the island, which I have already mentioned in the foregoing book; and shall only observe, that it lies about six or seven miles from the two great ports above mentioned, which, in all probability, was the reason of its not being first attacked, as the other places and forts of the island were.

SUCH was its situation, which we have described, only in order to enable the reader to form the better judgment of what passed during the course of the siege. The grand master, before the enemy appeared, was desirous of knowing exactly what troops he had to oppose the infidels. in order to distribute them afterwards into the places and forts that should be attacked. Accordingly he made a general review, and found that they consisted of about 700 knights, besides serving brothers, and 8500 men, who were either soldiers of the galleys, and foreign troops in the service of the order, or else townsmen and peasants, who had been formed into companies. All the languages undertook to defend the several posts that should be assigned them, and the soldiers and militia were divided among them. The three languages of France had the guard of the town, the most important place of the island; and as it was of a large extent, they were joined by part of the language of Castile.

THE admiral de Monte, with all the knights of the language of Italy, undertook to defend the *isle de la Sangle*. The language of Arragon, which comprehended the knights of that kingdom, and those of the provinces of Catalonia and Navarre, took up all the quarter of the gate of Bormola, with the platform of earth adjoining to it. The language of England, part of that of Castile, with the Portuguese and German knights, were posted upon the mole towards the town, and extended themselves as far as the ditch of the castle of St. Angelo. The commander Ganzeranos, a Catalonian, was put with fifty knights, and five hundred

excellent soldiers in the castle; and the chevalier Mesquita, a Portuguese, in the *Notable city*, which, being a post of great consequence, they gave him, over and above the ordinary garrison, five companies of the country militia, under the command of the commander Vagnon. The commander Romegas, so famous for his captures, and so terrible in the Mediterranean, undertook, with the soldiers of his gallies, to defend the entrance of the great port; and the commander Guiral, a Castilian, and excellently well skilled in the management of the artillery, raised a battery of nine cannon, to play upon the enemy, in case they should attempt to break the chain that barred up the port where the gallies lay. The fort of St. Elmo had generally no more than sixty soldiers garrisoned in it, under the command of the chevalier Broglio, an old Piedmontese officer; but before the enemy appeared, the commander Deguarras, bailiff of Negrepont, was thrown into it with sixty knights; and the grand master, knowing the importance of that post, put likewise into it a company of Spanish foot, commanded by the chevalier John de la Cerda. The cruelties and havock the Turks had made in the isle of Goza, before their going upon the expedition of Tripoli, made several knights of the council propose the demolishing of the castle, in order to prevent its falling a second time into the hands of the infidels. But la Valette opposed it, and was of opinion, that they ought rather to augment the garrison; maintaining, that it were to be wished the enemy would first fall upon those separate forts, before they attacked the town and castle of St. Angelo, where the convent and the strength of the order resided; and that they would have just so much time as they should employ in it, to wait for the coming of the succours which they were promised; and that in case the remote posts could but hold out till the end of September, the Turks would hardly be able to keep the sea during that tempestuous season. He added, the better to enforce his opinion, that as the castle of Goza, the *Notable city*, and the castle of St. Angelo, were all feat-

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ed upon hills, which were pretty near of the same height, and which lay not far from one another, it would not be difficult, in case the Turkish fleet should keep the mouth of the two ports blocked up, as undoubtedly they would, to make signals from these castles, and to advertise the order of all that passed at sea, especially when the succours should be coming up. He concluded by declaring, that they should immediately send a governor to Goza ; that they should make choice of a man of resolute courage for that purpose, who should be capable of resisting the enemy as long as possible, and who, rather than submit to a capitulation, should sacrifice his life for the preservation of his order. All the council readily assented to the grand master's opinion ; and, however dangerous that post might be, there was such a noble emulation among the knights, that there was not an old officer but made great interest to procure it for himself, or at least to serve under the person who should be nominated to it. The grand master and council at last pitched upon the chevalier Torreglias, a Majorcan, whose valour and intrepidity, which had been tried on many occasions, had justly qualified him for that employment.

BESIDES these various dispositions, the commander Copier, of the language of Auvergne, and grand marshal of the order, an old officer, was appointed to observe the fleet of the enemy, and to oppose their descents as far as lay in his power ; to regulate his motions by theirs ; and, when they should land, to fall upon such as should straggle from the main body of their army. He, in order to put these designs in execution, took with him a good number of knights, together with two hundred islanders on horseback, and a body of six hundred foot ; with these he coasted along the sea-shore, in all those places where a descent seemed most practicable.

SUCH wise precautions were very necessary against so formidable a power as that of the Turks ; but the main security of the island lay in the grand master's presence, who always appearing with an air of tranquillity,

ty, and the same intrepid look, inspired an heroic confidence into the knights and soldiers. He was continually visiting the several posts, fortifying those places which he thought weakest, telling each commander the motions he was to make in case of an attack, and the places to which he should successively retire, in case of his being forced out of his post; and wherever he came, he left an impression of his courage, that rendered his knights and soldiers invincible.

At length the Turkish fleet appeared off of Malta on the 18th of May. It consisted of 159 vessels with oars, as well gallies as galliots, having 30,000 land-forces on board, composed of janizaries, spahi's, and the bravest soldiers of the Ottoman empire. The fleet was followed by a considerable number of ships of burden, laden with the heavy artillery, the horses of the spahi's, and the ammunition and provisions for the forces. The chief pilot sailed half a mile before the rest of the fleet, in order to view the coast, and to find a safe place for to put in at, and made an attempt to bring it into a creek or road called *Murza Sirocco*, which lies on the eastern side of the island. But a Greek and Levant wind blowing at that time, he did not think proper to put in there; but firing two cannon-shot to give notice that they were not to stop there, he kept on his way, passed with all the fleet between the island of Malta and the rock of Foröola, and about sunset the Turks came to an anchor at the entrance of the creek or bay of Magiarro. The marshal Copier, at the head of 200 knights, and a thousand arquebusiers, advanced with as much diligence as possible, to oppose their descent; but the Turkish admiral, detaching five and thirty gallies of his rear guard with 2000 men on board, in the night time, they landed without any opposition in the road of *St. Thomas*, called by others the *Port de l'Echelle*: on which occasion it may not be improper to observe, that though most historians dignify the creeks and bays which are in this island with the title of ports, yet they are generally, if we except the great port, and port Muffet, no more but so many

many roads, which are at most sheltered only from the land-winds.

WHILST the Turks were in the bay of Mugiarrò, the chevalier de la Riviere planted himself with twelve knights in ambush behind some old rubbish, in hopes of surprizing some enemy who might be tempted to come ashore. A Portuguese knight, who had been sent on the same side to get intelligence, discovering la Riviere, and advancing towards him, received a musket-ball from a party of Turks who lay concealed in the neighbouring rocks, and died upon the spot. La Riviere, imagining he was only wounded, ran immediately to assist him; but the Turks firing another volley, dispersed this little convoy, and, having killed his horse, came up, and took him prisoner. They carried him immediately to the general, who examined him about the disposition of the grand master and of the knights, and the number and condition of their forces. La Riviere answered, that the knights were all to a man resolved to lose the last drop of their blood in the defence of an island, which they considered as their country; that all the forts were manned with strong garrisons, and well provided with ammunition and provisions; and that they expected from all the Christian princes of Europe a strong fleet, either to give him battle, or force him to retreat. The Turkish general, looking upon this discourse as a kind of bravado in his prisoner, commanded him to be put to the rack, in order to extort from him a more particular account of the state of the island. The knight bore the torture for a long time with an heroic constancy; but, at last, as if he had been overcome by the rigour of the torments he suffered, he, affecting an ingenious air, owned to Mustapha, that if Malta was to be taken, it could only be at the post of Castile, which he said was the worst fortified in the whole town, and indeed in the whole island.

THE basha relying on the sincerity of a confession drawn from him, as he imagined, by the violence of the torture, resolved to begin the siege of the town in
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that quarter : but as he had a mind to reconnoitre the place himself before his engaging in the attempt, he sent the chevalier de la Riviere loaded with irons on board a galley designed for the prisoners. The wind changing, all the fleet weighed anchor the night following, and with the lanthorns lighted stood for the bay of Marza Sirocco, where the army landed early in the morning in good order. The first thing the general did was to order the building of two redoubts on each side at the entrance of this large bay ; after which, he put a good number of soldiers in them, and provided them with artillery for the security of his ships, as well as to keep the Christian fleet at a distance. The Turkish army advanced afterwards higher up into the country, and encamped near a village called St. Catharine. Mustapha, in order to take a view of the situation of the town, the castle of St. Angelo, and other forts, took some engineers with him, and went up an hill called *Mont Calcara*, from whence he had a prospect of almost the whole island. He obliged the chevalier de la Riviere his prisoner to follow him, whom he commanded to point out to him the forts of St. Elmo and la Sangle, the castle of St. Angelo and the town, and to give him likewise an exact account of the fortifications in every place, and the number of troops that were posted in them. The chevalier did not fail to make them twice as many as they were ; but the basha at length asking him which was the post of Castile, which he had represented as the weakest in the whole island, he had no sooner shewn it him, but Mustapha seeing it fortified with a large bulwark, a ravelin and casemates at the bottom and in the ditch, was presently convinced that la Riviere had imposed upon him, and had only pointed out that place to him in order to make him miscarry in his enterprize ; this put him into such a rage, that he gave him a blow with his cane, after which the soldiers of his guard knocked him on the head.

WHILST this cruel scene was acting upon Mont Calcara, the Turkish army spreading it self over the country,

country, set fire to the villages, murdered the peasants, and carried off the cattle which they had neglected to secure in time within the fortified places. The marshal Copier was all this while observing the enemy narrowly, and whenever any of them happened to straggle from the main body for the sake of plunder, he fell upon them, and either cut them to pieces or took them prisoners; so that he, on two or three occasions, and in different skirmishes, killed above 1500 of their men, without losing above fourscore of his own, among whom the chevalier d'Elbene, of an illustrious family in Florence, who was killed with a musket-ball, after having signalized himself in these private rencounters, was particularly regreted.

THE grand master permitted at first his soldiers to engage in these skirmishes with the Turks, in order to enter them as it were, and to accustom them to their looks and shouts; but as the result of these rencounters decided nothing, and that the least loss on his side would have been more prejudicial to him afterwards, than the killing of a much greater number of Turks could be of advantage, he recalled all his troops, and sent them back to their respective posts, judiciously reserving them for the defence of such forts as should be attacked.

THE next day the Turks held a great council of war, in order to consider of the place where they should begin their attack. Admiral Piali, pursuant to the grand seignior's orders, was for attempting nothing till the arrival of Dragut, who was daily expected; but the basha, who was uneasy at what the chevalier de la Riviere had told him concerning the succours that were preparing, maintained, that they, before they thought of conquering, ought, without losing a moment of time, to take their measures so well, as to prevent their being surpris'd or vanquish'd themselves; that in case the Christian army should come suddenly upon them, the grand seignior's fleet would be blocked up in the creek in which it lay, and that supposing they should have nothing of that nature to fear, it yet was not secured from

from easterly winds ; and therefore his opinion was, that they, without any further delay, should immediately lay siege to the fort of St. Elmo ; which, according to his calculation, could not hold out above five or six days ; urging further, that they, by the taking of it, would become masters of the port of Marza-Muzet, which was large enough to hold all their fleet ; when this being once secured, they should go on with more confidence to attack the other forts and places of the island. This advice was carried by a plurality of votes ; and accordingly the siege of fort St Elmo was resolved upon.

THIS fort, as we have already observed, was seated on the point of a rock, at the extremity of a narrow piece of land, which divides the two ports. It had been built by the prior of Capua ; but he had made it too small ; and whether it were, that the order was not at that time able to defray the expences necessary for making it larger and more regular, or that the prior, at his placing it on the point of a rock, had considered it only with respect to the sea, and the use that might be made of its batteries for defending the entrance of the harbour, the event shewed, that he had not enough reflected upon providing for its security on the land-side, he having built it in a place where the ground was so very strait and narrow, that there was no making any out works, or adding the necessary fortifications to it. However, as the island is one continual rock, and only covered over in some places with a stony soil, two or three foot in depth, the Turkish engineers foresaw, that the opening and carrying on of their trenches, would be a tedious and difficult work, and the rather, because the fort was well supplied with artillery, and likewise that it would be impossible for them to hinder the grand master from sending succours to it in light barks, by the way of port Muzet, and his relieving and changing the garrison from time to time. What made their anxiety still greater was, that the viceroy of Sicily gave out, tho' with much more ostentation than real effect, that he
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would appear very soon before Malta, with the fleet of the king his master, in order to fight that of the sultan, and give battle to his forces.

BUT the Turkish general, who was an excellent officer, not any way discouraged by these difficulties, resolved to pursue his design. For this purpose, he first went to take a view of the place himself, after which, he brought on his troops, invested it on the land-side, and marked out the spot for his camp, and the several places where he would have his batteries erected. Hereupon his troops set to work about opening the trenches, and making their approaches : the basha was lavish of the lives of his pioneers ; and, notwithstanding the continual fire of the place, and the hardness of the rock upon which the fort was built, they at last covered themselves in some places, and in others, where they could not cut the rock, he made them raise parapets, which served instead of trenches, they being made with thick planks and beams, stuffed behind with earth, which they fetched at a great distance, and afterwards moistened ; and, to cement it together, they mixed it with rush and straw, and by that means formed a kind of wall which covered the soldiers.

THE Turks likewise, by help of the oxen they had taken in the island, carried their cannon as far as Mont St. Elmo ; and, after raising their platforms, gabions and sheds, the basha, on the 24th of May, began to fire from a battery of ten cannon, which carried a ball of fourscore pound weight. Besides these cannon, he had two culverins that were sixty pounders, and a basilic, or great cannon, of a prodigious size, which 'tis pretended fired stone-bullets of 160 pound weight. This artillery made a dreadful fire ; and though it was answered by that of the place, nevertheless, as the fort was small and narrow, there was scarce a shot but beat down some part of its works and defences. The infidels still increased their batteries ; so that the bailiff of Negrepont, who commanded in it, saw plain enough, that it would soon be ruined by such a continual fire ; and that as the fortifications would be beat down, it

would be impossible for him to preserve the fort, but by the number and courage of the garrison.

WITH this notion, he sent the chevalier la Cerda to desire a reinforcement from the grand master; and, in order to obtain it, that knight, whose fear made him eloquent, greatly exaggerated the danger the place was in. The grand master seemed surprised at it; and what heightened his indignation against him was, his being so imprudent as to tell him in the presence of a great number of knights, that he must not expect that a place, which was so weak, could possibly be tenable above a week longer. “Pray what loss have you sustained, (replies the grand master) that you cry out in this manner for succours? Sir, answered la Cerda, the castle is to be considered as a sick person reduced exceeding low, who cannot possibly be supported, but by continual remedies and cordials. I myself (says the grand master, with a secret indignation) will be the physician, and will take others with me, who, if they cannot prevail so far as to cure you of your fear, their bravery at least shall prevent the infidels from making themselves masters of the castle.”

LA VALETTE indeed did not flatter himself so far, as to imagine it would be possible to hold out so weak a place, for any considerable time, against the continual attacks of the Turks; he was in reality concerned, from the bottom of his heart, at the dangers to which the knights in that post were exposed: but as the safety of the whole island depended on the length of the siege, and that a brave defence was necessary, in order to allow the viceroy of Sicily time to advance to his succour, he resolved to throw himself into the fort, and there bury himself, rather than see it lost by a weak defence, and an over-hasty capitulation, which would enable the infidels to attack the town and the castle of St. Angelo, the last resource the knights and the order would have left. La Valette was preparing to lead this succour into the fort; but the council, and all the convent in general, opposed it; when immediately

ately so great a number of knights offered themselves, and pressed to be sent on this commission, that the only trouble was, whom to make choice of for that purpose. The officers, whom the grand master pitched upon to lead this reinforcement, were the chevaliers Gonçales de Medran, and la Motte, who entered the fort at the head of the companies of foot under their command. Several knights got leave to go along with them; and historians have transmitted to us the name of one John de Sola, a Navarrese, a serving brother, and a brave soldier, who carried several others along with him, whom he inspired with the same intrepidity and resolution as himself; they all, like him, bravely losing their lives in one attack or other. Their places were afterwards supplied by several knights of different nations; viz. English, French, Flemings, and Germans, who, by reason of the distance of their respective provinces, did not arrive in Sicily, till after the Turks were landed at Malta, and that the castle of St. Elmo was besieged. The greatest part of them were so impatient to share with their brethren in the perils of the siege, that they would not stay for a convoy, but got into light barks, and filed off, one after another, as opportunities offered. Upon their landing at the town, they desired the grand master to give them leave to throw themselves into the fort that was attacked; when being gratified in their request, they immediately got into boats, that had neither masts nor sails; and, for fear of being discovered, crossed port Muzet, and got into the fort besieged. The grand master, to favour their passage, was continually cannonading the camp of the enemy from the castle of St. Angelo, which stood upon an eminence. A cannon-ball fired from thence, falling into the trenches, struck upon a large stone, and shattered it to pieces; one of the shivers chanced to hit admiral Piali, as he was visiting the works, and wounded him dangerously. His soldiers thought he was killed; and the grand master, observing the army and fleet were prodigiously alarmed at this accident, he, in order to draw some advantage from the confusion they

were in, thought it a proper opportunity for the sending out a vessel to press the coming up of the Sicilian succours, and prevent the loss of the fort : accordingly he dispatched the chevalier de la Valette Cornuſſon, his nephew, and the commander Salvago, a Genoese, to the viceroy in the night, to beg him to lose no time in advancing with the reinforcements which the king his master had promised ; and to send him at the same time two gallies of the order, which were returned from cruising, and were at Messina, and likewise all the knights that had rendezvoused there, who, by the help of the Spanish fleet, might find an opportunity of getting into the harbour. The commander de la Valette delivered him at the same time, a particular memorial, with respect to the course which it would be proper for the Christian fleet to hold, with a copy of the signals to be made on both sides, either at Goza, or in the adjoining roads that were proper for landing. The viceroy immediately sent an express, to assure him of a speedy reinforcement, and that he would ship it off by the 15th of June at farthest, desiring him in the mean time to be always supplying the fort of St. Elmo with fresh troops, in order to prevent the Turks from getting possession of it. The grand master, to encourage the garrison, acquainted them with the news he had received from the viceroy : The chevalier de Medran, who led the last reinforcement that had been sent thither, made a sally to retard the approaches of the Turks ; fell into their trenches, surprised them, and by the help of the artillery of the castle, which was continually firing upon them, he at first cut to pieces all that stood in his way. But the Turks, recovering from their surprise, rallied in great numbers, charged again, and, after an obstinate engagement, recovered their trenches, and forced the Christians to retire into the fort. Unhappily for the Christians, the wind blew very strong, and drove back the smoke of the artillery, which gathered like a thick cloud over the counterſcarp. The Turks, assisted by this obscurity, seized upon it unperceived, where they made a lodgment with trees, beams, wool-

wool-sacks, and gabions, which they had in readiness, and at the same time raised a battery upon it.

As soon as the smoke was blown off, the soldiers in the fort were strangely surprized to see Turkish colours planted upon the counterescarp; and the infidels, beginning to play from thence upon the ravelin, which, not being of a due height, was exposed to the fire of their small arms, so that not a man of the besieged could shew his head, but he was immediately killed by the janizaries, who were excellent marks-men: for which reason, captain de la Cerda proposed the undermining and blowing of it up, for fear, as he said, lest the infidels should make a lodgment in that advanced work. But they rejected this advice, which did not much redound to his honour, as they suspected it was given by a man, who was uneasy at the sight of danger, and who did not value what became of the siege, provided he could but see it at an end.

WHILST the Christians and infidels were thus continually engaged, Uluchialy a renegado, a famous corsair, joined the Turkish fleet with six gallies, which he had brought from Alexandria, having 900 land-forces on board; and a few days after, Dragut viceroy of Tripoli came up with 1600 more, on board thirteen gallies and two galliots. We have already observed, that the grand seignior had so high an esteem for his valour and capacity, that he had given express orders to his generals, both by sea and land, not to undertake any thing without his advice. His personal merit, and particularly the credit he had at the porte, was the occasion of their receiving him with a salvo of all the artillery, and the highest marks of deference and distinction; and, as soon as he was landed, he went to visit the camp, and the principal places of the island.

WHATEVER measures he might keep with the generals with respect to civility, he yet could not help discovering that he disapproved their having begun the enterprize with the siege of fort St. Elmo. He pretended, that they ought first to have attacked the castle of Goza, and afterwards the *Notable city*, which supplied

the town and the castle of St. Angelo with provisions ; alledging, that they, by the taking of those places, would not only have cut off the breasts that fed the rest of the island, but, which was of much greater consequence, would have stopped up all the avenues by which the Christians pretended to throw succours into the island.

THE basha, though invested with the post of general, was nevertheless afraid of the corsair's credit ; and therefore represented to him, that they, in order to secure the grand seignior's fleet from the violence of the winds, and from being surpris'd by the Christian forces, had been obliged to begin with attacking the fort, as the taking of it would open them a passage into port Muzet ; that however the siege was not so far advanced but they might raise it, and transport the army to Goza, or invest the city, if he thought proper. " That would not be an improper step, replied Dragut, if things had not been carried to too great lengths ; but after opening of the trenches, and attacking the fort for several days, there will be no raising the siege without exposing his highness's glory, and perhaps disheartning the soldiers." His opinion therefore was, that they should employ all the forces of the army in order to go through the enterprize with honour ; and as a proof that the liberty he had taken of speaking his sentiments did not arise from any mean envy and a spirit of malignity, the common vice of courtiers, he, from the moment it was resolv'd that they should continue the siege, employed himself in it with as much courage and assiduity as if he had been answerable for its success. No general officer scarce ever shewed greater intrepidity : he spent whole days together in the trenches and on the batteries. He was master of a great many talents, but was particularly skilled in the management and direction of the artillery, in which no one excelled him ; this had been his first profession, as has been already observed in the foregoing book : by his orders, they, on the first of June, rais'd a second battery parallel to the first, but which was nearer the fort ; and,

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in order to keep up a continual fire, they played successively one after another upon a cavalier that covered the fort. He likewise planted four cannon towards port Muzet, to batter it on that side, and two others on the counterscarp, which shot downwards into the ditch, and played upon the casemate; and moreover, sent four culverins from his galleys to the point at the entrance of port Muzet, which ever since that time has been called *Cape Dragut*, or Dragut's point, where he planted them in order to batter the flank of the ravelin and the cavalier, and all the western-side of the fort.

THE Turkish musketeers firing continually upon the ravelin, their engineers sallied out of the trenches under the cover of the fire, and advanced openly with great resolution to the foot of the ravelin, in order to view the effect of their batteries, without meeting with the least opposition. Whether it were that the centinel was killed or asleep on his post, or whether it was the fault of the officers in not going the rounds themselves, but leaving it to the common soldiers, no one appeared, or offered to disturb them, so that these engineers viewed the ravelin at their leisure, and observed that there was no going from the cavalier to that outwork, but by a kind of bridge made of a few planks. They likewise discovered a port-hole for cannon made so very low, that one of the engineers getting upon another's shoulders, looked through it, and saw the Christian soldiers lying carelessly extended on the ground and fast asleep. These made their report; and a body of the Turks soon advanced, who, clapping their ladders to the ravelin, got into it by the port-hole, and cut most of the Christians to pieces: those who awoke first, seeing such a number of enemies about them, took to their heels; and several, to avoid falling by the Turkish sabres, threw themselves headlong from the bridge into the ditch. The Turks pursued their advantage, and leaped upon the bridge, in order to get into the cavalier, but were stopped by the serjeant-major Guerara, who, upon hearing the noise, had run
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thither with some soldiers. He was soon sustained by the chevaliers de Vercoyran and de Medran, who came up with their companies, as did the bailiff of Negrepont at the head of several knights. They now fought on a more equal foot, and the Turks were presently repulsed; and as the ravelin had no defence on the side next the cavalier and the fort, the Christians levelled two cannon to play upon it, which, as it made some havock among the infidels, gave the Christians room to hope that they should recover it. But Mustapha ordered several detachments of foot to advance, who, not valuing the fire, threw themselves into the ravelin, and the pioneers coming up with wool-bags, gabions, fascines, and planks, they made a lodgment, and all the efforts of the Christians could not drive them out.

THE Turks did not stop here; but seeing the bailiff and the knights retire into the cavalier, by a way that led up to it from the bottom of the ditch, they with a boldness which the hopes of victory inspired them with, threw themselves into it sword in hand, and pursued them with an eagerness which nothing could stop but the artillery of the fort, and a shower of fire-works, stones, musket and cannon shot, which made such slaughter among them, that they were forced to give over the pursuit, and retire out of the ditch. 'Tis said, however, that they, after rallying again, and receiving a fresh reinforcement, returned into it a second time, by a breach which was made in the counterscarp; and, clapping their ladders to the fort, they mounted in shoals, and with such intrepidity and resolution, that it would have been hard to judge of the success of this last attack, had not their ladders by good luck proved too short. In fine, they were at last forced to abandon them, but not without losing abundance of men; this engagement, which lasted from day-break till noon, cost them, as we are told, near 5000 of the bravest troops in their army. The order likewise, besides the loss of the ravelin, had twenty of its knights and near an hundred soldiers killed. The bailiff of Negrepont,
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the serjeant-major Guerara, the chevalier Adorne, and la Roche Perura, a young Castilian knight, were wounded. Historians relate, that the chevalier Abel de Bridiers of la Gardampe being shot in the body, with a musket-ball, and some of his brother knights offering to help him, and carry him to a place where he might have his wound dressed, he, after having thanked them for their offer, said, "Don't trouble yourselves about me, I am a dead man; your care will be better employed in the defence of our surviving brethren." After which, he crawled to the chapel of the fort, and, commending his soul to God, expired before the altar, where he was found dead. The wounded were by the grand master's leave carried in the night-time to the town, in order to their being looked after; and an hundred men were sent the same way to supply their places, under the command of the chevalier Vagnon. The artillery of the fort, and the batteries of the castle of St. Angelo and the isle de la Sangle, were very serviceable in securing their passage; and though the Turks had planted two cannon on the top of the grotto of Alicata, which played upon that part where there was entrance into the fort, and that the janizaries, who were excellent arquebusiers, and who used muskets of a large bore, that carried at a great distance, were continually firing upon the shore that lay nearest to the fort; they, nevertheless, had not yet been able to cut off this communication, nor hinder the passage of the little reinforcements, which the grand master sent thither.

'Twas with great concern that he, upon the return of the wounded, received the particulars of the loss of the ravelin, and the several circumstances in this last engagement; nor was his indignation less, to see that la Cerda, under pretence of a slight wound, the marks of which were scarcely visible, had put himself in the number of the wounded. This cowardice, the like of which had never been known before in the order, was a sensible affliction to la Vallette; and though he pitied his weakness, he nevertheless had him arrested and

and sent to prison ; a punishment still too mild for a man, who, during the whole time of the siege, had used all the cunning and address he was master of, only to get out of the way of danger.

THE bailiff of Negrepont, and the commander Broglia, had leave sent them by the grand master to return to the convent ; but they, though wounded, and very antient, refused it with great resolution, and answered, that they only desired leave to lose their lives in their posts, and die in the bed of honour. These venerable knights, whose faces were burnt and disfigured by the heat of the sun, were always under arms, and never stirred from those places where there was most danger ; and though they were almost worn out with old age, they nevertheless laboured in carrying earth to those places that stood in need of being fortified, and were continually lending a helping hand to the other knights ; some of whom, by reason of the narrowness of the place, were continually wounded. Nothing was there seen but cripples, arms hanging in slings, and mangled limbs that had been shot off, and which lay scattered up and down for want of their having had time to bury them ; and nevertheless, these men, the greatest part of whom had but half of themselves left, still preserved their courage entire, did service about the artillery, crawled to the breaches, and appeared with intrepidity in all places.

THE grand master sent them from time to time all the reinforcements the place could contain ; but as there was scarce a day in which the continual fire of the enemy did not destroy a considerable number of the knights and soldiers, he sent off a bark in the night-time for Sicily, with letters to the viceroy, by which he acquainted him with the extremity to which the fort was reduced, and expressed his surprise at his not having yet attempted to send back the two gallees of the order to Malta, with the knights who waited only for that opportunity, in order to repair to their respective posts, as their duty required ; he likewise desired him to send an immediate reinforcement of a thousand

thousand foldiers, in order to supply the loss of those who perished daily in the fort. The viceroy's conduct, and the little eagerness he discovered to get the king of Spain's squadrons together, made him apprehensive, that he would never resolve with himself to try the fate of a sea engagement, and therefore told him, at the conclusion of his letter, that provided he would land only eight thousand men in the island, he did not question but he should be able, with that reinforcement, and the troops he had left, to force the enemy to raise the siege, and reimbarc on board their ships. The viceroy had no sooner received it, but he immediately sent back Salvago, who, by the grand master's orders, had continued near his person to hasten the succours, and another knight along with him, called Miranda, one of the most distinguished, as well as the most zealous of the whole order; charging them to assure the grand master, that he would not lose a moment's time in getting together such a fleet as should be sufficient to bring him the succours he expected; but that he had not as yet ships and gallies enough to hazard a battle with the Turkish fleet; that he wanted those of the order, which he desired him to send furthwith, the better to forward the embarkation of the troops.

THE two knights went on board a light brigantine, and took the two Maltese gallies, which the viceroy had detained in the port of Saragossa, by way of convoy, till they had doubled cape Passaro, when they sent them back, because they could not advance nearer the port without being discovered; after which they made a shift to get in the dark to port Muzet, and landed as near as they could to fort St. Elmo. They stayed there all the next day; and, after having visited the several posts of the place, and seen the ill condition it was in, they went on board again the night following, and landed at the town, to wait upon the grand master. He was prodigiously surpris'd to see them arrive without any reinforcement, and especially without the two gallies of the order, and to find that the viceroy, not
satisfied

by the help of fascines, gabions, and wool-bags, raised the ravelin higher than the parapet of the place, so that they could see every thing that passed within. The next thing they did, was to plant two cannon upon it; the continual fire of which, with that of their small arms, hindered the soldiers from coming near the parapet, so that they were forced to run trenches up to it, and march through a subterraneous passage in order to get thither. The basha, to ruin this defence, employed some masts, sail-yards, and large planks, to frame a bridge broad enough for six men to go a-breast; and for fear the Christians should throw fire-works upon it, in order to burn it down, they covered it with earth to a certain height. The Turks, by the help of this bridge, and the continual fire from the ravelin, pierced as far as the parapet, and fell to sapping as well as undermining the wall. La Miranda, who ran to every place where there was most danger, perceiving their design, was not very uneasy about the mine, which the infidels were endeavouring to run under a place where, he was very sensible, they would meet with a rock that would be too hard for their tools to enter.

BUT as their sap would insensibly ruin the parapet, he made them raise another behind it, which he fortified with a good ditch, and lined it with artillery; and the night following he made a sally at the head of the bravest soldiers of the garrison. Whilst one part of them amused the enemy with a false attack, by pretending to fall upon their trenches; the rest crept under the bridge, set fire to it, and never stirred till they saw it all over in a flame. The Turks, however, with indefatigable labour, repaired it the next day, and in the evening got down into the ditch, and clapped their ladders to the foot of the wall, as if they intended to make an assault, when the knights immediately presented themselves upon the breach with their usual intrepidity. The infidels thereupon retired on a sudden, having made that motion only to oblige them to shew themselves; and, at the same time, their artillery, which

was

was charged with cartridge-shot, made such a terrible fire, that there were more knights of the order lost on this occasion, than had been before in the warmest attacks.

THOSE who were left, seeing the ravelin taken, which laid all the fort open, and commanded it; most of their cannon dismounted, and their defences ruined; large breaches made, and few soldiers to defend them; sent a deputation to the grand master, by which they represent to him the deplorable condition of the place, and desire him to send boats to carry them over to the town, and by that means prevent their being taken by storm. The besieged pitched upon the chevalier Medran for this disagreeable commission, as being a person whom the grand master greatly esteemed for his valour: so that his report could not be suspected of weakness or cowardice. He told la Valette plainly, that the fort was no longer tenable, and that if they should obstinately resolve to continue there but even a few days more, such a defence would be of no use, and only serve to destroy the rest of the garrison; and that nothing could possibly be of greater advantage to the Turks, than the order's sending from time to time new reinforcements into a place which was so dismantled; that it would insensibly consume the troops necessary for the defence of the other fortresses of the island: he concluded with declaring, that he was, nevertheless, commissioned to assure him of the blind and implicit obedience of the knights and garrison, whatever resolution he might think fit to take.

THE grand master acquainted the council with the occasion of the chevalier de Medran's coming, and the condition of the fort and garrison. Most of the great crosses, who composed the council, were for abandoning a place that swallowed up, as it were, its defenders, and which, by insensible degrees, under a pretence of being reinforced, would drain the other fortresses of their garrisons. These motives were just and reasonable; notwithstanding which, the grand master was of a contrary opinion: he agreed indeed that the

fort was not tenable, and even owned that he could not help bewailing the fate of the knights, who, in so dangerous a post, were exposed to be daily knocked on the head ; but he insisted that there are some circumstances, in which it is necessary to hazard some of the limbs, in order to save the whole body ; that he had received good information of the viceroy's having declared, that in case the fort should be either taken or abandoned, he would not hazard the fleet and forces of his master, to save the rest of the island ; so that the whole safety of Malta depended entirely on the length of the siege, and that it was absolutely necessary, let it cost the order what it would, to spin it out as long as possible. The council came over to his opinion ; when he, in concurrence with them, ordered Medran to represent, in his name, to the knights within the fort, that the preservation, or utter loss of the island, and perhaps of the order itself, depended on the time they should hold out the place ; that they should call to mind the vows they had made at their profession ; and that they were obliged to sacrifice their lives for the defence of the order ; that he would not fail to send them reinforcements, which should be as strong as the smallness of the fort would admit of ; and that he was resolved, whenever it should be necessary, to throw himself into the place, and there die with them.

WHEN Medran reported this answer, several knights, especially the most antient among them, protested they would bury themselves under the ruins of the fort, rather than abandon it ; but the greatest part of them, as well as some officers of the garrison, thought the answer harsh and cruel, and complained that the council, and a set of men who had no share in the danger, were for exposing them to the slaughter, and to certain death, without the least prospect of advantage. These murmurs rose higher, on occasion of a mine, which the Turks were endeavouring to run under the first parapet ; upon which they drew up a letter to the grand master, by which they desired leave

to retire into the town ; it was signed by fifty-three knights : they further declared, that in case they did not send boats for them the next night, in order to carry them off from a place, where they were all going to be destroyed, they were absolutely bent to take a desperate resolution, to sally out and be killed sword in hand, rather than continue in the fort, to no other purpose than to be smothered under its ruins ; or, in case of its being taken by storm, to have their throats cut like so many beasts, and be exposed to all the torments, which the ingenious cruelty of the Barbarians are ever sure of inventing.

THE commander du Cornet was the bearer of this letter : the grand master read it with great trouble and indignation ; but as he was inspired with a courage that was superior even to the worst events, he wrote them word back, that it was not enough for them to lose their lives sword in hand, in order to die with honour, which they seemed so fond of, but that they must likewise lose them in the practice of the obedience which they owed him, and in the occasions which he should prescribe them ; that in case they should desert the fort, and he should send boats to fetch them off, they must never expect to be relieved by the viceroy ; that the Turks would not fail to invest and besiege the town the next moment, where they would inevitably meet with the death they so vainly hoped to escape, by scandalously deserting a post, the defence of which had been committed to them by the order ; and that, after all, they had no reason to be under any apprehensions from mines, as they were in a fort that was built on one continued rock. In fine, la Valette, in hopes of reviving their drooping courage, or rather in order to gain time. sent three commissioners thither,^a with orders to bring him a just account of the condition of the place, and how many days it might hold out longer.

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THESE

^a The commander de Medina, a Spaniard ; the chevalier de la Roche, a Frenchman ; the chevalier Castriot, an Italian.

THESE commissioners, upon their arrival, spoke in terms of the highest civility and mildness to all the knights who were assembled to receive them; they highly extolled the courage and resolution which they had hitherto shewn, and exhorted them not to tarnish the lustre of their glory and reputation by an over-hasty retreat. Such of the knights as had signed the letter to the grand master, before they would make any answer, desired them to visit all the posts of the place. They shewed them that it was entirely commanded by the exhaussement, or high work, which the Turks, since their taking of the ravelin, had raised close to it; and that they might judge from the smallness and narrowness of the fort, that it was impossible but they must lose abundance of men every day, though indeed they could not be so thoroughly sensible of it, as if they had felt all the fury, and seen the havock of their great and small shot; and that after all, the more men they should send thither, the greater would be the loss, as it was a place where they had not room and earth sufficient to intrench themselves.

Two of the commissioners, both men of judgment and experience, were for trying what complaisance could do; and, in order therefore to bring over the malecontents, they owned that they could not possibly imagine how they had been able to hold out so long in a little fort, which was so dismantled, that it appeared to be no more than a heap of rubbish; after which they added, that they still flattered themselves, that they, who were such brave knights, would rouse their innate valour, which alone would enable them to hold it out some days longer, and, by that means, give the viceroy time to come to their relief, and raise the siege. The third commissioner was named Constantine Castriot, a Greek prince, and descended, as we are told, from the house of the famous Scanderbeg, the hero of Albania, and of all Christendom. Castriot, who was naturally hot and furious in his zeal, without any regard to the temper and complaisance of his colleagues, warmly maintained, that the place was not yet reduced

ced to such extremity, but that it might hold out some time longer ; that there were several ways of securing the fort from the artillery of the ravelin ; that there was room on the inside of the breach to make cuts and intrenchments, which might be well secured with palisadoes ; and that every body knew it was impossible to undermine a place which was built upon a rock.

THE knights, to whom he directed his discourse, took it for an affront, as if he had intended to reproach them with either not understanding the arts of war, or their not having courage enough to put in practice the dangerous expedients and remedies it prescribes. This alone was sufficient to raise the most unhappy disputes ; every one maintained his sentiments with vehemence ; the dispute grew hot, when some of the most passionate knights cried out, that they must absolutely keep such an able man in the place, and oblige him to put his own lessons in practice ; and accordingly they ran to the gate of the fort in order to seize it, and keep him in. A dangerous tumult, of which the Turks might have taken advantage, was going to break out, when the bailiff of Negrepont, and la Miranda, found a way to appease it, by causing an alarm to be sounded, which obliged all the knights to run to their respective posts.

THE commissioners, at their return to the town, gave the grand master an account of the ill condition the place was in, and told him frankly, that they did not believe the garrison could be able to stand an assault. Castriot, on the contrary, either through fondness for his first opinion, or perhaps through resentment at what had passed between him and the knights, pretended that the place was still tenable ; and, at the same time, offered the grand master, provided he would give him leave, to levy some troops in the island, to throw himself into the fort, and hold it out against all the efforts of the infidels, till the succours should arrive.

PROBABLY there might be more courage and resolution in these assertions, than knowledge of the real condition of the place; and the grand master knew very well what he had to trust to; but as he was under an absolute necessity of prolonging the siege at any rate, he accepted Castriot's offer, hoping to make use of it for several purposes. Accordingly, he gave him great encomiums in public, and the bishop of Malta, actuated by a zeal so becoming his dignity, in concert with him, advanced the sums necessary for making the new levies that were to relieve the knights; and accordingly, they immediately beat up for them in the town and fortresses. A considerable number of the inhabitants of the country, and some of the chief citizens listed themselves; and there was an emulation who should enter into the service first. The knights who were in the fort, heard this news with a surprise that was mixed with vexation; and what encreased it still more, was the grand master's writing to them afterwards in harsh and dry terms, and with an air of state, that he was ready to give them their discharge; that for one knight, who seemed to despair of holding out the siege any longer, ten brave soldiers offered themselves, who were inspired with a true spirit of zeal and courage, and eagerly sought to obtain leave to throw themselves into the fort; that he would immediately send a new garrison to relieve them; that they had no more to do but to deliver up their posts to the officers who were to head it, and that they might come back to the town in the vessels on which the others were to be transported. "Return my brethren, said he, to the convent; you will be more in safety there; and as for me, I shall then be less in pain about the preservation of fort St. Elmo, tho' it be of such importance, that the preservation of the island, and all our order, depends entirely upon it."

THESE few lines were written with an air of so much indifference, and even contempt, that the discontented knights were piqued to the last degree. They could not so much as think of delivering up the place

to the new soldiers and recruits, without being sensible of the shame and confusion they were going to bring upon themselves in the sight of the whole order. "How (said they one to another) shall we be able to bear the sight of the grand master, and the reproach of our fellow knights? And if this new garrison should have the good fortune to hold out the place till such time as the succours arrive, what corner of the earth shall we be able to find, remote enough from all human society to retire to, and there to bury our shame and confusion?" Full of these sad reflections, they resolved to lose their lives to a man, rather than give up their post to the new soldiers, or abandon the place to the Turks; and accordingly intreated the bailiff of Negrepont, and the commander Broglio to acquaint the grand master with their repentance, and the resolution they had made to lose the last drop of their blood in the defence of the place. As it was still day-light, and that they were desirous of preventing the arrival of the boats, the governor dispatched an excellent swimmer with a letter to him, in which he took notice of the happy change; and, in the name of the malecontents, begged him to pardon their fault, and give them leave to wipe it out by an intrepidity and resolution that would be proof against the greatest dangers.

THIS repentance was just what the grand master wanted to bring the malecontents to; and, tho' he had foreseen it, and even paved the way to it, by the jealousy and emulation which he inspired, he nevertheless thought proper not to comply with the governor's request at first; and therefore told him in his letter, that he would always prefer a body of new troops that obeyed the laws of military discipline to a number of old warriors, who pretended to be above controul. The knights, in a consternation at his steadiness and resolution, begged pardon in the most submissive terms. La Valette, considering that it would be dangerous to drive them to despair, suffered himself to be wrought upon, and was pleased to be pacified; accordingly, the

new levies were dismissed, and the inhabitants were sent back to their respective posts which had been assigned them before Castriot's proposal.

DURING these transactions, the commander Salvago was returned back into Sicily, and, landing at Syragosa, he found the viceroy still starting one excuse or other, to defer the departure of the succours; for which reason, he, in the grand master's name, ordered the the commander de Cornuillon, that prince's nephew, and the commander de St. Aubin, captains of the two galleys of the order which were in that port, to embark immediately for Malta, and to carry thither all the knights and volunteers who were arrived in that place, together with a company of foot which had been levied at the order's expence, and was commanded by the chevalier Augustin Ricca. These two galleys, with this little re-inforcement on board, got, after various workings, into the isle of Goza. Their design was to land in the safest creek or road of Malta. But they were prevented by Dragut, who had notice of their departure from the spies he kept in Sicily, and had therefore sent several squadrons along the coasts, to hinder the Christian vessels from coming near them.

THE knights who commanded the two galleys, not thinking proper to hazard the reinforcement they were carrying to Malta, against the superior forces of Dragut, resolved to return to Syragosa. Their departure was a very sensible affliction to the grand master, he having depended on that little reinforcement in order to repair the continual losses he suffered in the defence of the fort. Accordingly, he reprimanded his nephew in the severest terms upon that account, and told him in his letters, with a kind of contempt, that glory was very seldom the share of a captain who acted with so much caution; and added, that it was the duty of a knight of Malta, to dare more than any other warrior.

He wrote by the same express, to the commander Salvago, who continued near the viceroy's person, in order to hasten the succours, and press the departure of the fleet; ordering him to acquaint that nobleman with
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the extremity to which fort St. Elmo was reduced, and to beseech him, in case all his forces were not yet joined, to send him at least the two gallies of the order; to reinforce them with two others of the squadron of Sicily, and to put on board them all such knights and volunteers as were at his court, and in the ports of that island, together with a regiment of foot to fill up the places of such soldiers of the order, as were either dead, or disabled by their wounds.

THE viceroy, who ever made pompous promises, and who, in hopes to frighten the Turks, was eternally talking of the great preparations he was making for the relief of Malta, would in some measure have given himself the lye, had he declined sending so small a reinforcement. In order therefore to keep the world still in a belief of the advantageous reports he had spread with relation to his forces, he appointed two gallies to set out immediately, with the two belonging to Malta, without waiting for the great reinforcement; and at the same time ordered Melchior Robles, colonel of the Sicilian brigade, to go on board the gallies with his regiment. But this embarkation, was, by the affected dilatoriness of both land and sea-officers, deferred from day to day, under various pretences: and the viceroy, who was not for dividing his forces, at the very time that he boasted even of the service he should do the order by this small reinforcement, gave secret orders to prevent its setting out.

THOUGH every thing seemed to conspire against the fort's receiving any reinforcement, the grand master did not, upon that account, abate any thing of his usual vigilance and activity: by his orders they were continually sending recruits to the besieged by night, together with provisions, ammunition, and fire works. He had himself invented one of a particular fort, proper to be used at an assault: they made hoops of very light wood, which were first dipped in brandy, or else rubbed over with boiling oil, then covered them with wool or cotton, which they steeped in other combustible liquors, mixed with salt-petre and gun-powder;

after

after this preparation was grown cold, they repeated it, as above, three several times, and, when an assault was made, they set these hoops on fire, took them up with tongs, and threw them into the thickest of the enemy's battalions ; when two or three soldiers, being hooked together in these burning hoops, they had no way to escape being burnt alive, but by plunging immediately into the water, and staying there till the fire was extinguished. The knights who defended the fort had the utmost need of all these different succours, to oppose such formidable enemies as they had to deal with.

FROM the 17th of June to the 14th of July, not a single day passed without some engagement ; as the fort was but indifferently flanked, the infidels daily attempted to carry it by scalado ; but were as often repulsed with the loss of their bravest soldiers. The basha, ashamed at having thrown away so much time before a place, whose fortifications were so weak, resolved to come before it on the 16th, with all his forces, and give a general assault. To facilitate the attack, he employed the 15th in battering the breach, when the artillery playing all day long without intermission, the wall was entirely demolished, to the very rock on which it had been built.

ON the 16th of June, the day appointed for the assault, the Turkish gallies drew up by day-break over against the castle towards the sea, and battered it with all the artillery of their ships ; at the same time that a land battery, of thirty six large cannon, beat to pieces all the fortifications that were left standing. The Turks, at the beat of drum, and sound of their hautboys, and other barbarous instruments, entered the ditch which they had almost filled up ; and no sooner was a cannon fired, which was the signal for the assault, but they all ran on with great resolution. Four thousand archers, or arquebusiers, being planted in the trenches, were of great service to them by the continual fire they made upon those who appeared on the breach. It was lined with several ranks of Christian soldiers, in which they, between every three soldiers, had placed a knight, in
order

order to sustain and encourage them. This was the only strength and defence of the castle. These brave warriors, with their half-pikes in their hand, formed a kind of new wall, that was proof against all the efforts of the enemy, who soon began the attack, which was the warmest that had been made ever since the beginning of the siege: for it often happened, that the Christians and Turks, after having spent their fire, and broke their swords and pikes, grappled together, when the dagger determined the fate of the combatants, according to their vigour or activity. The great and small shot played on both sides without intermission, and each party annoyed his adversary with fire-works: 'twas on this occasion that the burning hoops above-mentioned were of great service to the Christians; they threw them into the midst of their enemies, when most of those who were caught in them were burnt alive. The cries of these wretches, those of the combatants, the groans of the wounded and expiring, the noise and thunder of the cannon and muskets; all this spread a kind of terror on both sides, which nevertheless could not make the Turks retire, nor would the knights abandon an inch of ground.

THE distance between fort St. Elmo and the castle of St. Angelo and the town, was no more than the breadth of the harbour, so that one could plainly see from thence all that passed in this terrible and bloody engagement. The knights, and the people who were spectators of it, were very uneasy, and in pain about the success of it, and appeared as passionately concerned, as if they themselves had stood the assault; so that one might see alternately, by their cries and in their change of countenance, a lively image of the advantages or losses of either party. The grand master, whose courage and capacity would not suffer him in particular to be an idle spectator of the combat, fired continually upon the besiegers from the batteries of the castle of St. Angelo, the town, and the *isle de la Sangle*.

WHILE the island was in a manner all over in a flame, thirty Turkish rais, or galley-officers, observing that all the forces of the besieged were drawn to the quarter where the assault was made, endeavoured to make themselves masters of a bulwark that was not so well guarded: accordingly they clapped ladders to the wall, and got up to the point of the bastion without any opposition; which the grand master perceiving, immediately levelled two cannon on that side, and killed twenty of them with the first discharge; which frightening the ten remaining, they fled away as fast as possible to their trenches.

THE Turks had no better success at the great cavalier, which covered the front of the fort. They had battered it for a long time together, with all their artillery without being able even so much as to move that unwieldy mountain of earth, which supported itself by its own weight. They afterwards attempted to scale it, and with great bravery mounted up their ladders sword in hand; but the chevalier John Anthony Giugno, an Italian, who commanded in that post, being well seconded by several other knights, and particularly by a serving brother of the town of Maricilles, called Chanaut, they threw the flaming hoops above-mentioned with so much dexterity, that the Turks, terrified at these machines, abandoned the attack. Not even the most intrepid janizary, who advanced boldly sabre in hand to attack the bravest knight, but abandoned his post at the sight of these burning hoops, and fled away with precipitation; nor could all the prayers, the threats or blows of his officers prevail upon him to stop his flight. At length, the knights, after having sustained an assault for six hours together, notwithstanding their being covered over with wounds, burnt with the scorching rays of the sun, and quite spent with the length of the engagement, had the satisfaction of seeing Turks retire first, and give over the attack; for the basha, after having lost upwards of 2000 men, was at length forced to command a retreat to be sounded. The Christians of the fort on this occasion

casion set up a general shout, which was echoed back from the town, and answered by the people with loud acclamations. This good success, greater than any one had even dared to hope for, considering the weakness of the place, was entirely owing to the generous despair of the greatest part of the knights, who had devoted themselves, as it were, to death; and who, during the whole engagement, were less solicitous to gain the victory, than to sacrifice their enemies, tho' at the expence of their own lives.

THE order lost, in this assault, seventeen knights, who were all killed upon the breach: among whom were particularly regretted the chevalier de Medran, who had just wrested a standard out of the hands of a Turkish officer that fell by his hand, when he himself was killed by a musket-shot. The grand master, to do honour to his memory, ordered him to be buried among the great crosses, a dignity that was justly due to his great valour, and which he would certainly have obtained, had he not fallen on this occasion. They likewise lost the chevaliers de Vagnon and la Motte, the latter dying of his wounds two days after the attack; and the commander de Morgut, who, as he was going from the fort to the town, in order to have his wounds dressed, had his head shot off by a cannon-ball. Besides the knights, they reckoned upwards of 200 soldiers, who were either killed or disabled. The grand master drew off 150 others to fill up their places, the smallness of the fort not allowing him to send a greater number; this detachment was composed only of such officers and soldiers as offered themselves for the service, he not caring to interpose his authority to order any body in particular to such a dangerous and bloody post.

THE basha, judging that these recruits, which were filing off continually from the town to the fort, might make the siege continue as long as there should be any knights in the other parts of the island, resolved to endeavour to cut off the communication between them. For this end he held a kind of council of war in the

trenches, with Dragut, a sangiac, and his principal engineer.

DRAGUT, either from his natural intrepidity, or because he, as happens to old soldiers, despised dangers by being inured to them, going openly out of the trenches, to view the situation of the ground, was struck in the head, near the right ear, with the shiver from a stone, which a cannon-ball from the castle of St. Angelo had shattered to pieces, and which killed the sangiac upon the spot. Dragut was not much better ; he lost his speech, and fell down in a swoon, the blood streaming forth at his mouth, his nose, and his ears. The basha, in order not to discourage the soldiers, commanded them to throw something over him, and carry him into his tent ; when advancing with great sedateness and intrepidity to the place, where he made his observations, he consulted with the engineer, how they might best prevent the sending of any succours to the fort. The result of their consultation was, to erect a battery upon Mount Calcara, and, if possible, to carry on their lines from the castle to the sea.

THIS post, as we have already observed, had been reserved for the viceroy of Algiers and his troops ; but as he was not yet arrived, Mustapha ordered a battalion of janizaries to post themselves there, who extended themselves, particularly along the shore from the gallows point, and so on to the Renella, to the point of San Salvador. Calcara hill was taken within these lines, and they raised another battery upon it, the fire of which, together with shot of the janizaries, who were continually firing from their long pieces, killed all such as attempted to pass. But they did not continue long in their post ; for before they could make their lodgment, and finish their intrenchments, the grand master, who was aware of the consequences of it, ordered the marshal Copier to make a sally at the head of a good number of knights and the bravest soldiers, who charged the infidels so vigorously, that they cut part of them

to pieces, and forced the rest to fly for their lives, and retire behind the intrenchments of their camp.

THE basha, however, did not despond at this ill success; but resolving, cost what it would, to prevent the garrison of the fort from receiving any succours from the town, he, by his engineer's advice, ordered a kind of covered way to be made behind the trenches, which were below the counterscarp, and which were afterwards carried on to the sea side over against Renella. They lined them with a great number of arquebusiers; and as the Turks worked night and day in carrying them on, the fort was at last invested on all sides, so that no boat could come near it, without being immediately either intercepted or sunk.

THE grand master saw plainly, that it would now be impossible for the fort to hold out any considerable time, without such a strong reinforcement, as might be able to raise the siege. Upon which he sent immediate advice of it to the commander Salvago, his resident at the viceroy of Sicily's court, with orders to renew his instances for dispatching away the succours. That knight did not fail to represent the extremity to which the fort was reduced, and to put him in mind of his repeated promises to the grand master; and in order not to omit any thing that might affect him, he insisted on the sacred and express promise of his catholic majesty: notwithstanding all which, Gasia, such was his perplexity and irresolution, would willingly have deferred it longer. But being continually solicited in the warmest terms by Gatinara prior of Messina, and above fourscore of knights that were come thither from different countries, who besought him to give them, in case the whole fleet was not yet ready to sail, a few vessels only to carry them to Malta; the viceroy, having no other way to get rid of the importunity of these knights, who besieged him as it were in his own palace, was forced, through shame rather than their intreaties, to consent at last to their going on board the two galleys which the chevalier de Cornasson, the grand master's nephew, had brought back from Saragossa. He rein-

forced them with two more, and put a regiment of Spanish foot on board them. giving the command of this little squadron to Don John de Cardona his creature, with private orders, in case he heard of fort St. Elmo's being taken, to return immediately without landing his troops. Cardona set sail, and advanced into the channel of Malta; when he, either under pretence of contrary winds, or else to avoid meeting the Turkish squadron which lay along the coasts. instead of putting into some road, spent so much time in different motions, which were generally needless, that one would have thought he was come from Sicily, rather to shew the reinforcement at a distance, than to land it.

IF we were to have considered the viceroy's conduct, barely in it self, we should naturally have concluded, that he either acted with very little sincerity when he made his promises, or else wanted courage to execute them: and indeed his affected dilatoriness to succour Malta, occasioned his being generally suspected, and made him odious to the knights. But then they did not reflect, that his principal concern was the preservation and defence of Sicily, for which his head was to answer; and that in case Malta should be taken, he had just reason to fear that the Turks would come and attack him in his government; and that he had orders from the king of Spain, to act in such a manner in his endeavours to succour the grand master, so as not rashly to hazard his fleet and army, since it was the only security and guard of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and even of the coasts of Spain.

THE Turks taking advantage of this excess of caution, made another storm on the 21st. Their whole army was either drawn up in their trenches, or engaged under the walls. The basha in hopes of carrying the place, was not sparing of the lives of his men, who met with the same courage and resistance in all their attacks. The infidels came on thrice to this dreadful assault, and were as often forced to retire. Abundance of the knights perished in these continual engagements;
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and if the night, which was coming on, had not put an end to them, it would have been impossible for them to have held out against the prodigious number of enemies with which they were attacked. The night, by affording them a little intermission, shewed them at the same time the greatness of their loss. They spent it in the midst of the groans of men who were just expiring, and in dressing each other's wounds. The bailiff of Negropont, la Miranda, the chevalier de Mas, and other principal officers, distinguished themselves by their charitable assistance towards the poor soldiers, worthily acquitting themselves, like true knights hospitallers, of the duties of their profession; and in order not to omit any thing that might contribute to their preservation, or at least to suspend their destruction, they dispatched an excellent swimmer cross the port, to acquaint the grand master with the deplorable condition of the place, which he said would inevitably be lost, together with all the Christians that were left in it, in case they did not find a way to send them a strong reinforcement.

THE grand master was not so much surprised with this dismal news, which he naturally expected, as he was concerned for the loss the order was like to sustain in the persons of such gallant men; for which reason, he left no method untried, that might enable him to send them succours: accordingly he ordered five large boats to be immediately fitted out, which were soon crowded with a great number of zealous and courageous knights. But notwithstanding all their efforts, they could not possibly get to the fort. Mustapha had lined the shore with his artillery, and a body of musketeers; and the Turkish admiral, in concert with him, advanced with four score galleys to the mouth of port Mazet: and to make all sure, he posted fifteen boats, light frigates and brigantines, in the front of his fleet, having a good number of excellent arquebusiers on board, who made such a continual fire, that they forced the knights to retire.

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THE besieged in the fort being now out of all hopes of succour, thought of nothing but ending their lives like good Christians and true religious : for which purpose, they were all night long preparing themselves for it, by receiving the sacraments of the church : when this was over, and that nothing remained but the giving up their souls to God, they embraced one another with tenderness, and retired to their several posts, in order to die with their weapons in their hands, and expire in the bed of honour. Such as were not able to walk by reason of their wounds, had themselves carried in chairs to the side of the breach, where, armed with swords, which they held with both their hands, they waited with an heroic resolution, till such time as their enemies, towards whom they were not able to advance, should come and attack them in their posts.

THE next day, being the 2^d of June, the Turks at day-break came on to the assault with great shouts, as if they were going to a victory which it would be impossible to dispute with them : but the Christian soldiers defended themselves with invincible bravery. One would have thought, that the certainty of an approaching death, which they were to share in common with the knights, had put them on the same level with respect to courage and valour : some threw stones and fire-works, others advanced to meet the enemy with as much intrepidity, as if they had beat them ; and such as could not walk, fired on the enemy with their pieces ; and when, by reason of their continual discharges, they had spent all their powder, they supplied themselves from the pouches of their comrades who had dropped by their side. In fine, the knights after having sustained an assault for four hours together, had but sixty persons left to defend the breach ; but these were something more than men, who by a noble contempt of death, still made their enemies tremble. The commander la Miranda, of the language of Castile, an excellent officer, who had signalized himself in the siege, seeing the place on the point of being forced by the
Turks,

Turks, recalled some Christian soldiers, who till then had maintained themselves upon the cavalier which lay before the fort. The basha seeing the breach fortified with this small reinforcement, discontinued the assault in an instant, as if he had been again disheartened by such an obstinate resistance, and pretended to retire; but it was only in order to make his janizaries seize not only on the cavalier, which was abandoned, but likewise on all the posts that were higher than the breach, and which overlooked the inside of the fort. The besieged employed this little suspension from fighting in dressing their wounds, not so much for the sake of preserving the poor remains of life, as to enable themselves to fight for some moments longer with greater vigour. At eleven in the morning, the Turks returned to the assault with new vigour, and the janizaries, who, from the top of the cavalier and the other posts, commanded the place with their muskets, pointed out all such persons as they had a mind to kill. The greatest part of them perished by the enemies fire; the bailiff of Negropont the chevalier Paul Avogadre, la Miranda, together with most of the knights and soldiers that were left, being over whelmed with numbers, died upon the breach; and this terrible assault was discontinued only for want of combatants, it not ending but with the death of the last knight. The Turkish fleet then entered the port of Marza Muzet in a kind of triumph, their cannon firing, their trumpets and other military instruments sounding, and all the infidels shouting for joy. Some of Dragut's officers running to his tent to acquaint him with the taking of the fort, found him just giving up the ghost; but altho' he had lost his speech, he still expressed his satisfaction by signs; when lifting up his eyes, as it were to give thanks to heaven, he expired a moment afterwards. He was a captain of exquisite valour, and more humane than corsairs generally are.

THE basha entering the fort, and judging from its smallness, what difficulty he should meet with from the town, cried out, "What will not the father cost
" us,

“ us, when the son, who is so small, has cost us the
“ bravest of our soldiers.” And indeed ’tis generally agreed, that the Turks lost at least 8000 men in the siege of this fort, which weakened their army considerably. Mustapha, of a cruel and bloody nature, by way of revenge, and at the same time to terrify the knights that were in the town, and the other fortresses of the island, ordered such as were found lying among the dead, and had still any marks of life left, to be ripped open, and their hearts to be plucked out. To this unexampled piece of barbarity, the basha, in order to insult the instrument of our salvation, which the knights wore as the badge of the order, had gashes made over their body in form of a cross, when putting their subvests upon them, they tyed them to planks, and threw them into the sea, hoping, as indeed fell out, that the tide would carry them to the foot of the town, and the castle of St. Angelo.

THIS dismal and shocking spectacle drew tears from the grand master. His first sensations were those of grief; but his next were those of anger and indignation; in consequence of which, and by way of reprisals, he, in order to teach the basha to make war with less barbarity, ordered all the Turkish prisoners to be immediately executed; and ramming their heads into his cannon, had them shot, all covered with blood as they were, instead of ball, into the camp of the infidels.

End of the fourth Volume.



